

**A reference grammar of Menya,  
an Angan language of Papua New Guinea**

by

**Carl R. Whitehead**

**A thesis**

**submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies**

**in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**Department of Linguistics**

**University of Manitoba**

**Winnipeg, Manitoba**

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**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of  
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## ABSTRACT

*This thesis presents the morphology and much of the syntax of Menya, which is a Papuan language spoken in the Eastern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. It is the second most populous of at least twelve languages that constitute the Angan language family, which is, in turn, considered to be a stock-level isolate of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum. With the possible exception of a pedagogical grammar of Kapau, published in 1968, this is the most comprehensive grammar of an Angan language to become readily available to the linguistic world. The grammar is written from a functional and typological perspective and describes the form and function of structures at and below the sentence level. It is based on the analysis of various genre of texts (both oral and written), from which most of the examples are extracted, and includes discourse and pragmatic considerations in explaining the meaning and function of the structures described. The data on which the grammar is based has been gathered during numerous periods of residence in the Menya village of Akwanja since 1975. The main complexities of Menya grammar are in its pronouns, its irrealis modalities and its clause-combining strategies. Whereas the personal pronouns are relatively simple, the demonstrative pronouns are based on seven deictic roots, are inflected for gender, number and person, and are used both as free pronouns and as NP specifiers. There are also dyadic pronouns that refer to specific kin combinations. Most multi-propositional sentences involve the use of distinct (medial) verb forms which agree in person and number with the clause actor, indicate the (dis)continuity of the topical entity via a switch-reference system, and encode various aspects of the relationship that holds between clauses. There are coordinate medial forms distinct from those used in the clause chaining system that is typical of Papuan languages.*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

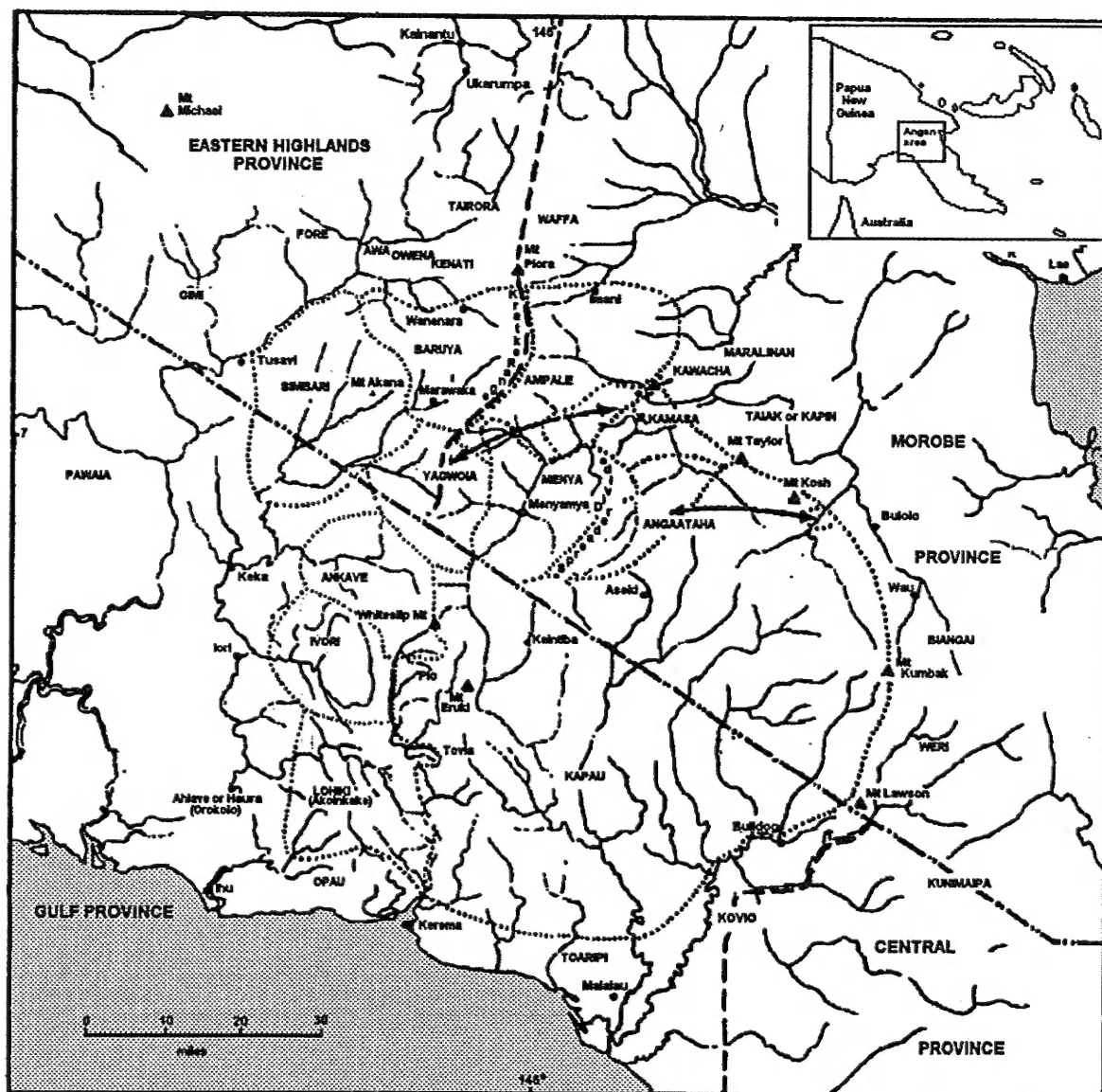
Most of these abbreviations are used primarily in the morpheme-gloss line of the interlinearized examples, where lower case glosses indicate a lexical equivalent and upper case glosses indicate a more-technical linguistic category.

ASO - associative	FUT - future	POLQ - polar question mood
ASS - assertive	GEN - generic	POSS - possessive
BEN - benefactive	GVN - given	PRGV - progressive
CAUS - causative	HON - honorific	QT - quote mark
CERT - certainty of assertion	IND - indicative mood	RPA - remote past
CMPL - complete	INDEF - indefinite	S - subject*
COM - common gender	INFOQ - WH-question mood	SG - singular*
CSR - coordinate same-referent	IPFV - imperfective	SIM - simultaneous
CTF - contrary-to-fact condition	IRR - irrealis	SEM - semelfactive
DL - dual*	LOC - locative	SER - serializer
DEF - definite	M - masculine	sp - species
DETR - detransitivizer	MANR - manner	SR - same-referent
DIM - diminutive	MOD - modifier	SRC - source
DR - different-referent	NEG - negative	V - verb
DSO - dissociative	NEU - neutral	1 - first person
DSR - dependent same-referent	O - object	2 - second person
DUBIT - dubitative mood	OJ - object (in morph gloss)	23 - second or third person
DUR - durative	ORIG - origin of motion	3 - third person
DVZR - deverbalizer	PA - past	& - and
F - feminine	PFV - perfective	
FCS - focus	PL - plural*	

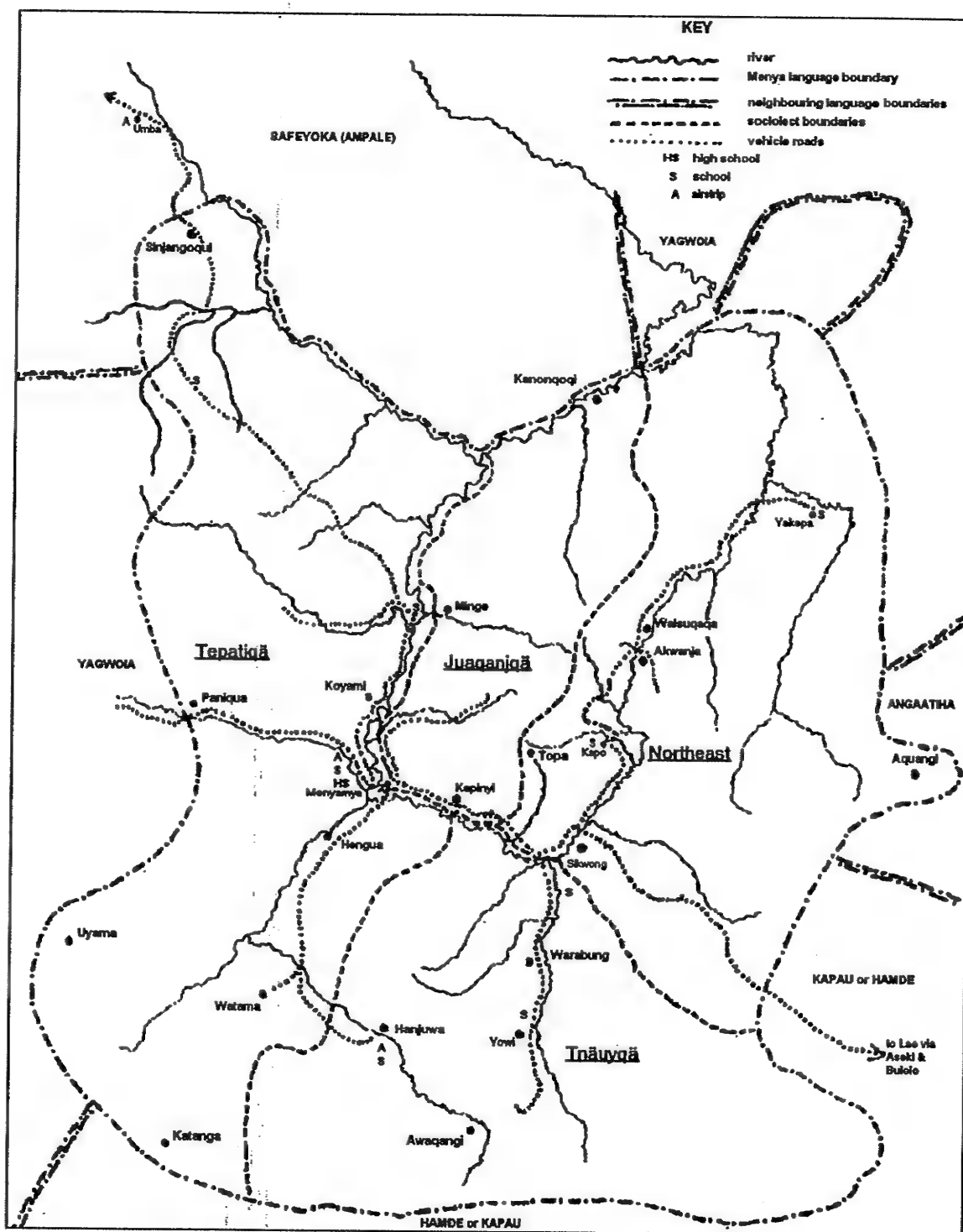
\* In the glossing of person/number morphemes, 'singular', 'dual' and 'plural' are abbreviated as S, D & P rather than SG, DL & PL. Elsewhere, S refers to subject.

Note: A partial glossary of technical terms is included following the appendices and includes references to the section of the paper where each term is more fully discussed.

## MAPS



**Map 1. Angan language family (adapted from Lloyd 1973).**



Map 2. Mënya language area, Eastern Highlands Province, PNG.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

This study presents the morphology and syntax of Menya, a Papuan language of Papua New Guinea. Menya is the mother tongue for approximately 25,000 people<sup>1</sup> whose traditional homeland is in the Upper Tauri Valley in the south-west corner of the Morobe Province. It is the second largest of the twelve (or more) languages that constitute the Angan Family<sup>2</sup> which Wurm (1982) proposed to be a stock-level family of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum. The name Menya properly refers to a small tributary that flows from the west into the Tauri River 4kms north of Menyamya, the provincial administrative centre for the area.

The data were gathered during frequent periods of residence in the village of Akwanja between November 1975 and March 2003 while working under the auspices of the Papua New Guinea branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

### 1.1 Scope of the grammar

The grammar is written i) from a functional-typological perspective influenced mostly by Comrie, Givón, Haiman and Langacker, and ii) with a firm commitment to text-based analysis, recognizing that sentences spoken without a natural context represent only a partial picture of the character and functions of a language. The presentation will contain a minimum of formalism and a maximum of effort to clearly define terminology which may otherwise be variably understood according to the user's theoretical perspective. The grammar will be limited to a description of the form and function of structures at and below the sentence level.

The data for analysis has been drawn from a several genre of texts (mostly oral but some written) gathered by the author since 1975. These have been supplemented by elicited materials to clarify and expand the understanding of the structures and meanings found in the texts. While there will be no attempt to describe the formal or rhetorical structure of texts or discourse, or the dynamics of conversation, appeals

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<sup>1</sup> This figure is based on the 2000 census figures which record a total of 20,000 people resident in the Menya villages of the Menyamya District. Significant numbers of Menya speakers are also resident in the towns of Lae, Wau and Bulolo in the Morobe Province and in the regions around Kimbe and Biala of the West New Britain Province, and lesser numbers in Port Moresby and other communities around the country.

<sup>2</sup> This information is based on Lloyd 1973, which is still the major comparative work on the Angan languages. The term 'Angan' was then a fairly recent replacement for the previously-used, derogatory term 'Kukukuku'. Two of the languages, Kawacha and Kamasa are extinct, for all practical purposes. However, Smith 1990 documents a language called Susuami which is possibly a distinct Angan language but also in great danger of becoming extinct.



to the discourse context will be made in seeking to explain the different functions of semantically equivalent forms and structures within the sentence. The texts used have been edited to a limited degree to correct what the Menya themselves perceive as errors. Wherever possible, the speaker/author of the text was involved in this process. The text portion of the database therefore falls between the extremes of considering natural discourse to be too flawed to be reliable, and that of regarding every hesitation, 'error' and self-correction as valid parts of the data<sup>3</sup>.

The analysis and presentation recognizes that, as a live language, Menya is in a constant state of change but is, nevertheless, primarily synchronic rather than diachronic. Reference to diachronic change is made only where it seems to help throw light upon inconsistencies within the data or where the body of text seems to clearly indicate that changes have taken place more recently. Since most of the texts have been gathered in or near a single Menya village, the presentation is primarily that of a single dialect. Use is made, however, of texts from speakers of other dialects (variations are fairly minor) with reference to the differences being made only where the same form appears to be used with different functions. As has already been implied, the target audience for the grammar is, primarily, other linguists rather than the Menya people themselves or potential language learners. That being the case, it is recognized that the audience will be 'users' more than 'readers'; that is they will be seeking information about specific topics rather than trying to find out all they can about Menya. The second chapter provides an overview of the major morphosyntactic features of the language, with extensive cross-references to the more detailed presentation to follow. In the main body of the grammar, chapters 3 through 5, an attempt will be made to present the material in a logical fashion such that 'readers' will be able to build their understanding gradually without having to jump to later sections.

These guidelines and limitations are in accordance with the articles presented in Graustein and Leitner (1989), which discuss what should be included in a reference grammar and how it should relate to or be influenced by linguistic theory. In their introductory article, Leitner and Graustein present the following "widely accepted characteristics of grammars" (1989:4):

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<sup>3</sup> The recorded speech and original written texts still exist, so the raw data is still available for possible further analysis.

Grammars of a language are more or less comprehensive and systematic accounts of the major categories, structures, and functions of linguistic expressions found in the language under description. (1989:5)

Grammars of a language do not, and, perhaps, should not, aim to represent the totality of a language in its regional, social, stylistic or temporal extensions. They select relevant sections according to linguistic and user-related criteria. (1989:9)

Grammars of a language, like other types of reference materials, are not meant to be read from beginning to end but to be used whenever a need arises. They are to provide insights into the 'making and working' of a language and to answer very concrete questions, regardless of theoretical or other issues. (1989:15)

While there is consensus among the volume's authors regarding the ideal of broad, comprehensive coverage, most completely elaborated in an earlier work by Lehmann (1988), most agree with the above summary recognizing the need and virtual inevitability of some restrictions. There is similar consensus that, whereas an atheoretical grammar is impossible, a grammar should be written without theory-specific formalism in order to accommodate linguists of all persuasions.

## **1.2 The environment and social setting of the Menya people**

The Menya homeland lies totally within the Menyamya District of the Morobe Province and, with the exception of a single village, within the drainage area of the Upper Tauri River. It covers a roughly rectangular area extending 15kms to the north, east and south of Menyamya and 6kms to the west. Menyamya itself is situated on the Tauri River at 1200m, with mountain ranges rising to over 2000m within 5 kms in each of four directions (ENE, S, WSW and NW). The majority of the people live in villages between 1100m and 1600m high in what is primarily grassland, whereas almost all land above 1800m is covered by tropical rainforest. Rainfall varies from under 200cm per year, in the main Tauri Valley, where Menyamya is situated, to 500cm per year in the more remote parts of the area.

Menya mythology claims that mankind originated on the ridge to the northwest of Menyamya, and many among the other Angan peoples trace their origins to the same area. Contact with the outside world began in the early 1930s when gold miners from the Wau-Bulolo valley to the east conducted exploratory expeditions through the area. The colonial government established the first administrative station and airstrip at Menyamya in 1933 to provide protection for the miners but, when the miners withdrew due to the lack of prospects, the government facilities were closed down. The station and airstrip were reestablished in November 1950 and the government began to bring an end to the raiding and territorial expansion that was

characteristic of the Angan people. In the preceding decades, the Menya had been aggressively expanding in almost all directions.

The Australian colonial administration encouraged the people to move from their traditional nuclear-family hamlets scattered on ridge tops to more central village locations. Fifty-six census units were established among the Menya, though these by no means coincided with clearly defined villages. The Menya continue to be characterized by strong individualism, rather than social cohesion, and homes surrounded by bushes and coffee gardens to maintain privacy are more the norm than houses congregated in a single, cleared area. Most economic activities such as house building and food production were, and still are, performed by each nuclear family for themselves rather than being communal activities. Seemingly, the primary communal activities were fighting and the performance of various stages of initiation of boys into manhood. Both of these activities ceased within a few years of the Menya coming under government control, though a reduced schedule of initiation ceremonies continued in some areas until the 1980s.

The people continue to practice slash-and-burn agriculture to produce most of their own food. The traditional diet consisted primarily of numerous varieties of sweet potato, grass species and leafy, green vegetables. This was supplemented with other root plants, bananas and plantain, a species of wing bean, and mushrooms. Protein was a minimal part of their diet -- primarily pandanus nuts and occasional wild pig and small forest animals. Numerous fruit and vegetable crops have been introduced, as well as peanuts and soybeans to provide protein. Rice and canned fish and meat are available commercially, but these are not daily fare for most villagers. Coffee was introduced early on and most people have at least a small garden which supplies small amounts of income. With the decline in coffee prices in the past ten years, some are experimenting with other crops such as vanilla. Market gardening is a growing factor but limited by the lack of a large, local clientele.

Until 1980, all travel in and out of the area was by foot or by plane so migration was very limited. The major exceptions were those who moved to the Bulolo and Wau valley to work in forestry and mining, and a significant number of young men who were contracted to work for two years as labourers and guards on plantations, mainly on the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago. A road was cut to Bulolo by 1980, opening

up more ready transport to and from Lae, the provincial capital and major centre for industry and commerce. Most men under fifty have now travelled out of the area but most women have not.

Medical and educational services have been expanding since the 1950s but the majority of children are still not attending school regularly. This may change now that the government's recently redesigned education system is starting to be introduced. Kindergarten and grades 1 and 2 are to be taught in village-based 'elementary' schools using whatever language the community desires. The more centrally located 'community' schools, of which there were never more than eight in the Menya area, will begin with grade 3. A high school was opened in the mid 1980s, increasing the number who could go beyond grade 6, and a few have now received tertiary education. The general education and literacy level remain below average for the country.

Tok Pisin, the English-based trade language throughout the north coast, islands and interior highlands areas of the country, was introduced in the 1950s and is the prime medium of communication with government and other introduced services. All formal education in the area was in English until the recent introduction of the elementary school system. Menya continues to be the first language for most children, though Tok Pisin is also introduced in the home from an early age. Most church services contain a mixture of Menya and Tok Pisin and/or English, with the balance varying according to denomination. Since very few girls attended school prior to the 1980s, most adult women know very little Tok Pisin or English. For the foreseeable future, the trend will continue toward more bilingualism but the people's general attitude towards language and the government's elementary school policy should limit, if not prevent, the demise in the use and prestige of Menya. Nevertheless, the increased bilingualism and literacy will result in an accelerated rate of change in the language, compounded by the changes in lifestyle affecting the need to know traditional taxonomy and skill-related terminology.

### **1.3 The linguistic setting of Menya**

Menya is the second largest of the Angan family of languages, in terms of the number of speakers. It is bordered on all sides by other members of the family so contact by the Menya with languages of other families was minimal prior to the introduction of Tok Pisin and English. Lloyd (1973:33) reports that relationships between the Angan languages and the neighbouring East New Guinea Highland, Kunimaipen

and Pawaian families are only 5%, 4% and 3%, respectively. Menya's closest relatives in terms of cognate counts are Kapau/Hamde (69-75%) and Yagwoia (50-58%).

Linguistic research has been conducted by others<sup>4</sup> in most of the languages in the family but relatively little has been published. The most complete grammar that has been published of any of the languages is the 1968 *Kapau pedagogical grammar* by Oates and Oates. Neville Bourne, a former missionary among the Folomosa (a dialect of Lloyd's Ampele) and former member of parliament for the Menyamya District, has gathered extensive vocabulary and mythological data from numerous Angan languages for comparative purposes but these also are unpublished.

The only others known to the current author to have gathered data on Menya are Rev. M. Jordan of the Australian Lutheran Mission and L. and A. Chipping of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Jordan lived among the Menya from 1954 to 1964 and worked almost exclusively in Menya since Tok Pisin was virtually unknown to the Menya at that time. He produced a preliminary analysis of the phonology (Jordan 1958ms) and began writing a pedagogical grammar (Jordan 1963ms). The Chippings spent several months among the Menya from 1971 through 1973, starting the S.I.L. work at Akwanja village. The only linguistic material 'inherited' by the current author from the Chippings was a collection of verb paradigms, but they did lay the foundations of relationships upon which we have been able to build.

There is little evidence that the Menya speakers ever conceived of themselves as a unit distinct from speakers of other Angan languages around them<sup>5</sup>. Based on word-lists, grammatical data and native-speakers' attitudes gathered in 1987 and 1988, there are three or four sociolect groups among the Menya. Consistently, two are recognized as linguistically and socially distinct and are named by the people as the *Tnäuyqä* (those to the south-east) and the *Tepatiqä* (those to the west). Within these two groups, numerous clans are also recognized, with census units often associated primarily with a single clan. The people to the northeast are considered to be fairly uniform linguistically but no name exists for them. The people of the five westernmost villages in that area are recognized as the *Juaqänjqä* but each of the remaining villages in the northeast is identified only by its dominant clan. This group is, therefore, referred

<sup>4</sup> Missionaries, anthropologists and S.I.L. members.

<sup>5</sup> Lloyd (1973:98) states that for only one of the languages do its speakers have a name for themselves distinct from speakers of other languages.

to here as the Northeast group. Many of the forty clans are found in more than one of the four sociolect groups. Cognate percentages based on a 190 item word list ranged from 89.6 (the average relationship between the *Tnäuyqä* census units and those of the *Tepatiqä*) to 94.16 (the average relationship among the *Juaqänjqä* census units). The pronunciation differences recognized by the people and reflected in the data are more significant than the cognate figures. Menya attitudes and the linguistic data analyzed concur in the assessment that the greatest linguistic difference is between the *Tnäuyqä* and the *Tepatiqä* dialects, with the Northeast/*Juaqänjqä* dialect being closer to the *Tepatiqä*. (The data and analysis are contained in two manuscripts listed in the bibliography as P. Whitehead 1991 and C. Whitehead 1995.)

The village of Akwanja, where most of the data for this study was collected, is part of the Northeast sociolect group and is situated 9kms ENE of Menyamya. Since 1985, considerable contact has been maintained with people from the three major groups but the body of texts which formed the core of the data for this study, plus almost all of the elicited data, were gathered from people residing within 2kms of Akwanja. To the extent that there are dialects of Menya, therefore, this study pertains primarily to the Northeast dialect.

## 1.4 Phonology and orthography

The major publication on phonology among the Angan languages is, significantly, entitled *Angan languages are different*. In her preface, Healey (1981:4) states:

The Angan Family is a stock level family of languages whose speakers live in that region of Papua New Guinea where the Eastern Highlands, Morobe and Gulf Provinces meet. All the languages of the family are characterized by phonological complexity unusual in this country. Nasals as syllable nuclei, behaviour of glottal stop, labialization and palatalization all make the analysis of syllable patterns difficult and result in the occurrence of long strings of consonants within the word. Severe cooccurrence restrictions on consonants go hand in hand with massive morphophonemics, with much fusion and loss. The cumulative effect of this makes the reconstruction of the basic forms of morphemes very difficult. ... In the above respects the Angan languages differ markedly from those of all the neighbouring families.

Apart from the statement about glottal stop, which Menya lacks, the above description is accurate for Menya.

The Menya phonological inventory consists of 17 consonants and 6 vowels, as presented in Table 1 and Table 2, and the orthographic representation used in this grammar is as in Table 3. Four of the

prenasalized plosives, /<sup>m</sup>b <sup>n</sup>d <sup>n</sup>dʒ <sup>ŋ</sup>g/, are written without the nasal word-initially but with it word-medially.

This variation in orthographic representation follows the Menya literates' decision to represent the nasal word-medially but not word-initially.

Table 1. The consonant phonemes of Menya

Consonants	labial	dental	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
non-prenasalized plosive	p	t	tʃ <sup>6</sup>	k	q	
prenasalized plosive	<sup>m</sup> b	<sup>n</sup> d	<sup>n</sup> dʒ	<sup>ŋ</sup> g	<sup>ŋ</sup> q	
nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ		
fricative						h
approximant	w		j			

Table 2. The vowel phonemes of Menya

Vowels	front	central	back
close	i	ə	u
open	e	ɑ	o

Table 3. Orthographic representation

Phoneme	p	t	tʃ	k	q	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	i	ə	u
Lower case	p	t	s	k	q	m	n	ny	ŋ	i	ä	u
Upper case	P	T	S	K	Q	M	N	Ny	Ŋ	I	Ä	U
Phoneme	<sup>m</sup> b	<sup>n</sup> d	<sup>n</sup> dʒ	<sup>ŋ</sup> g	<sup>ŋ</sup> q	w	j		h	e	ɑ	o
Lower case	b,mb	d,nd	j,nj	g,ŋg	ŋq	w	y		h	e	ɑ	o
Upper case	B	D	J	G	Ŋq	W	Y		H	E	A	O

More detailed information about the phonemes, their phonetic manifestation and their distribution is included in Appendix D but some additional comments are in order here, including an statement of some of the more common morphophonemic rules.

Table 1 shows the lack of fricative phonemes (other than the glottal /h/) and of liquid phonemes. Neither of these characteristics is unique among Papuan languages. Foley (1986:55-56) points out that phonetic fricatives are frequently intervocalic allophones of the plosives, the change often being accompanied by voicing. Menya /tʃ/ can be realized as [ʃ] in most environments and intervocalic /q/

<sup>6</sup> The post-alveolar affricates are treated here as palatals and plosives as a generalization.

becomes [ɣ] or [ʏ]. The liquids [r] and [l] are intervocalic allophones of /ʎ/, again fitting the pattern described by Foley, though he does note that languages with no liquid phoneme are rare. Somewhat more noteworthy is the relative frequency of the consonant phonemes. The most frequent is the uvular plosive, followed by the velars and bilabials, then the dentals, with the palatals being quite rare.

The six-vowel system of Menya is one of the more common patterns evidenced in Foley's survey of Papuan languages (1986:52-53). He also discusses in some detail (50-52) the frequency and status in various Papuan languages of a short, high vowel being inserted between consonant clusters that are not allowed in the phonetic realization. This is also a feature of Menya, especially when both consonants are plosives. As noted in Appendix A, nasals and plosives can occur in surface clusters (though the nasal syllabifies after a plosive). Again as noted by Foley, the quality of the epenthetic vowel can vary, especially when the nearest phonemic vowel is either /i/ or /u/. The few Menya who are writing in their vernacular are inconsistent as to whether a vowel should be written in these contexts and if so what it should be<sup>7</sup>. When three such consonants come together, there is a greater likelihood of one vowel being written but again there is inconsistency as to which one. When the final phoneme of a word is a consonant there is a vocalic release (optional if the consonant is nasal other than /ŋ/). The quality of the vowel varies, but usually /p/ releases to /u/ and /t/ and /k/ release to /i/.

In accordance with Healey's statement above about Angan languages generally, fusion and loss of phonemes at morpheme boundaries is extensive in Menya. Since many of these processes are idiosyncratic to particular morphemes, determining the basic form of morphemes is often difficult and, conversely, the relationship between the surface form of words and the base form of their component morphemes is often not transparent. Therefore in all examples in this grammar, both a 'readable' surface form and a morpheme-by-morpheme line are given. The more idiosyncratic processes will be described where the relevant morphemes are presented but a few of the more regular morphophonemic processes are listed below. It will be noted from the Menya examples in the body of the paper that the sequences that are affected by these processes across morpheme boundaries are allowed within morphemes. Even non-homorganic nasal-

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<sup>7</sup> As a result of this variation, the examples almost certainly show some inconsistencies in spelling in the top line.



plosive sequences remain in the speech of some Menya speakers, as in the variant *hiyamdqä* for *hiyandqä* 'cassowary'.

Dental phonemes generally palatalize before or after /i/ and sometimes in the environment of /e/.

Dental phonemes assimilate to the point of articulation of an adjacent stop. e.g. /m + tu/ → *mbu*.

The vowel /a/ in a prefix raises to /ə/ if the next phonemic vowel is also /a/.

The approximant /w/ triggers labialization of the consonant before the next phonemic vowel, and makes any intervening epenthetic vowel be [u]. e.g. /ə + w + t + k + ŋə + i/ → [ətukɪ<sup>w</sup>i]<sup>8</sup> 'you told him/them'

The sequence /qə + i/ → /qe/ and /qu + i/ → /que/.

The dental nasal deletes following the bilabial nasal and /m + ŋqə/ → /mqə/, except in the *Tnäuyqä* dialect.

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<sup>8</sup> This example also shows metathesis of the /w + t/ sequence

## 2 MORPHOSYNTACTIC OVERVIEW

This chapter will present an overview of Menya morphology and syntax and introduce most of the linguistic categories and terms that will be used in the body of the grammar. It will begin with a presentation of the word classes recognized and the criteria for distinguishing them. This will be followed by a description of the basic features of the sentence, especially the sentence-final clitics<sup>9</sup> which encode the surface form of the illocutionary force or nature of the act being performed by the speaker in uttering the sentence<sup>10</sup>. It will then describe the basic clause structure, introducing the Menya norms for word order, case marking, cross-referencing, and encoding of categories such as tense, aspect and modality, without going into details about the actual morphology or the distinctions made within the categories. The chapter will conclude with a summary of the nature of inter-clausal relationships in Menya, which is heavily but not exclusively dependent upon medial verb forms. In addition to introducing the main concepts to be used in the grammar, this chapter will provide a quick introduction to many of the typological features of the language, which should be helpful to 'users' who want to research a specific topic without being ignorant of the overall schema of the language. It will also be helpful to 'readers' by presenting a panoramic view of the language before they progress into the finer details which begin in the third chapter, thus reducing the need to jump forward to place the details in context.

Menya is typical of Papuan languages (and especially those of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum) in being dominantly right-headed. It is verb final, genitives precede their head, suffixation is far more prominent than prefixation, and cliticization is in the form of enclitics (including postpositional case markers) rather than proclitics. The significant deviation from this pattern is that most nominal modification follows rather than precedes the head noun.

<sup>9</sup> Clitics in Menya are generally neither perceived nor written as words; they are attached to the preceding word. They differ from suffixes, however, in that the former are specific to a word class whereas clitics attach to whatever occurs last in the sentence or phrase to which it is attached.

<sup>10</sup> Since Menya is spoken far more than it is written and the majority of texts available are transcriptions of recorded speech, terminology that is 'speech' oriented will be used in a broader sense to include authorship.

## 2.1 Word classes and morphology

The word classification presented here is made on the basis of morphological criteria, and distribution and collocation patterns, rather than on semantic or notional criteria. The majority of morphological complexity in Menya is found in its verbs – another feature that is typical of Papuan languages.

In non-isolating languages, it is advantageous to differentiate between the classification of morphemes (specifically roots) and that of words. Thus, a morpheme may be clearly classified as a verb root based on the types of affixes it can bear but some of the 'verb forms' built on that root may not be as clearly classified as a verb. MacDonald (1990:85) refers to this problem in classifying the medial (non-finite) verb forms of Tauya, another Papuan language though not clearly related to Menya. In the present analysis of Menya morphology and word classes, all derivational affixes except the deverbilizing suffix *-qä* only effect changes between sub-categories of a word class. Therefore, in all words other than those with *-qä* the class of the word form is of the same major category as that of its root morpheme.

Verbs may exhibit two orders of prefixes and up to seven suffixes (4.2). The prefixes indicate the polarity of assertion and, for most transitive verbs, the person/number of an affected animate entity. The suffixes encode valency changes, tense, aspect, modality, person/number of actor, and/or various aspects of relationship with the following clause. Apart from the singular command form of some verbs<sup>11</sup>, a verb root cannot occur in isolation; thus, verb roots are considered bound forms.

Other morphologically complex words are the demonstratives (3.1.2 & 3.3.3.1), the kin nouns (3.2.3), and a set of dyadic pronouns (3.1.3) which refer to two or more people in specific kin relationships. The demonstratives are all based on a set of seven deictic roots and are sub-divided into pronouns, pro-locatives and pro-temporals according to the kind of enclitics they bear; all but two of the roots are bound forms. The demonstrative personal pronouns bear enclitics which indicate the person, gender and number of the referent. The kin nouns consist of inalienably possessed roots, with a prefix to identify the person (and sometimes number) of the possessor, and the same enclitic set as the demonstrative pronouns to indicate the person/number/gender of the referent; the kin noun roots are, therefore, bound forms. The kin pronouns are

<sup>11</sup> The second person singular irrealis actor suffix is normally *-t* but in the hortative/command form (4.2.3.1) it is *-a*. Since the actor suffix is the only morpheme required in the formation of the hortative form, the use of the null allomorph effectively results in the verb root standing alone.

based on a pronominal or demonstrative root followed by a morpheme specifying the kin relationship and the appropriate person/number/gender clitic.

Nouns, regardless of their internal morphological complexity, can be possessed by a preceding possessive word or phrase, and/or be modified by one or more following words or phrases. Pronouns are neither possessed nor modified. It is on this basis that the kin nouns and kin pronouns are differentiated. All nouns and pronouns can function as the head of a noun phrase. A few words which have temporal or locative reference have some but not all the characteristics of nouns and so are classified as defective sub-sets of nouns (3.4.1 & 3.4.2).

Adjectives and adverbs modify nouns and verbs respectively but these are overlapping classes -- there are some words, such as *tnäŋä* 'hot, fast', which modify nouns and verbs. It is not clear whether these are i) distinct but overlapping word classes, ii) overlapping sub-classes of a single class of modifiers, or iii) a single class with semantically-based restrictions on their distribution. They can be intensified by the suffix *-näŋä* 'very' and, especially in adverbial function, frequently bear the emphatic focus marker *=nä*. As will be illustrated in 3.3.4, the head noun of a noun phrase can be omitted, leaving a modifier as the functional head. This blurs the distinction between nouns and noun modifiers as does the existence of some words which have the characteristics of both, comparable to the English words 'male', 'infant' and the colour terms.

Foley (1986:113ff) describes the relative paucity of verb roots in many Papuan languages, with one of the compensating strategies being to combine an adjunct nominal with a generic verb (that is, a verb with a very general meaning such as 'be', 'do', 'act') to express different action/state types. While Menya cannot be described as having few verb roots (over 450 in the current lexicon), many predicates are expressed by a combination of an uninflected adjunct and an inflected generic verb. Many of these verbal adjuncts also function as nouns, as Foley and others point out (such as Farr 1999:62-66 for Korafe). For those that do not occur elsewhere as nouns, it is debatable whether they are best analyzed as a separate word class or as a sub-class of nouns. These will be presented as adjunct nominals in 4.3.4.

Finally, there are a small number of particles, some of which serve as modifiers within the verbal phrase while others operate at the sentence level.

## 2.2 Sentence overview

The Menya sentence is defined primarily by the presence of one of following set of mood clitics which attach to the last word and express the speaker's motivation for the sentence: indicative (informing), interrogative (requesting information), etc.

= <i>i</i> ~ = <i>nji</i>	indicative	speaker informing the addressee
= <i>ta</i>	polar question	speaker asking the addressee for a truth value judgment
= <i>wä</i>	content question	speaker asking the addressee for the details
= <i>ti</i>	dubitative	speaker expressing doubt or lack of knowledge

Since the unmarked or default structure for the Menya clause is verb-final, the last word of most sentences is a verb and, accordingly, the clitics are normally attached to verb forms. Almost all sentences bear one of these clitics, the exceptions arising from the fact that they cannot occur on a verb that ends with an associative actor suffix (4.2.2) or, with one exception, an irrealis actor suffix (4.2.3). When a sentence is part of a direct quote (as in (6) and (7) below), there is an additional clitic (described in 5.5.1) which occurs after the mood clitic or actor suffix. This end-of-quote clitic is an extended use of the focus clitic mentioned in the previous section but is treated and glossed separately not only because of its more specific function but also because it varies in form according to the preceding morpheme. Intonation patterns and pause are also significant for determining sentence boundaries but, as is the case for many languages, the criteria do not consistently coincide.

The length of sentences varies from a single word to ten clauses, with most natural texts averaging two to four clauses per sentence. Most sentences consist of an introductory 'given' portion which serves as a frame of reference for the remaining 'asserted' portion of the sentence. This is equivalent to the broader sense of 'topic' as used by Chafe (1976) and Haiman (1978) and can include identification of the person, thing or fact that the sentence is about (i.e. the more traditional sense of 'topic'). This portion of the sentence, henceforth referred to as the FRAME, is separated from the ASSERTED PORTION by a pause and is often marked with the clitic =*pi*<sup>12</sup>, which will be presented in more detail in chapter 5. Both the frame and the asserted portion of the sentence can be a multi-clause complex.

<sup>12</sup> This is probably an extended use of the locative clitic that will be presented in 3.4.2. As a givenness marker it is generally followed by a pause, indicated in the examples by a comma.

For the sake of simplicity, these features of sentential structure will be illustrated in this section using non-verbal predications. Equative and descriptive predications about the present world do not normally require a verb, though one of the several existential verbs can be used. In keeping with Menya's verb final order, non-verbal predicates follow the frame and subject where they are overt. The mood clitics, in such cases, can attach to the same wide variety of word classes as can serve as the predicate. Some of the examples, such as (9) and (10), are not equative or descriptive but are interjected questions where the verb is omitted but is readily understood from the context.

### 2.2.1 Indicative mood

The indicative mood signals that the speaker is informing the addressee of the degree of truth or falseness of a proposition. In Menya, indicative mood is normally encoded by use of the sentential clitic *=i* accompanied by a falling intonation pattern and followed by a pause. In (1) the predicate is an adjective; in (2) it is a common noun – the species name for a kind of bird. Note that the clitic replaces a preceding *ä* and that the *i* lowers to *e* following *q* or *qu*; these are regular morphophonemic processes of Menya. The opening phrase of (2) is an example of a sentence frame without the *=ni* clitic.

- 1) Subject Predicate  
*Iqueqä* *häwqä, quäuqe.*  
*i-qu=e-qä* *häwqä quäuqä=i*  
 that=M-OJ-POSS tail long=IND  
 'Its tail is long.'
- 2) Frame Subject Predicate  
*Nyi yŋä kukquä ätäqä* *iqu, iqueqä yoqe haquŋui.*  
*nyi yŋä kukquä ä-t-q-qäqä* *i-qu i-qu=e-qä yoqä=i haquŋuä=i*  
 1s bird speech ASS-say-PFV-1S/DSO that=M that=M-OJ-POSS name-DEF haquŋuä=IND  
 'The bird I've talked about, its name is *haquŋuä*.'

When the last word of the sentence is something other than a noun, adjective or verb, the indicative clitic is *=ni*<sup>13</sup> rather than *-i*. In (3)-(5), the final words are a negative particle, a locative and a temporal phrase, respectively. The distribution of *=ni* and *=i* does not constitute mutual exclusivity though the

<sup>13</sup> In 4.2.3.7 prenasalized variants of most of the other mood clitics are mentioned. By analogy, *-ni* could be a sequence of *-n -i* rather than a distinct morpheme. There is independent evidence for *n + i = ni* in limited circumstances.

contexts of overlap are few; for example, the predicate in (4) could just as easily be *mäyiyi* (*m=ɣi=i*) rather than *mäyinjī*.

- 3) *Äkewi ɣɣä naqä hmanji.*  
*äkewä=i ɣɣä naqä hma=nji*  
*äkewä=DEF bird big not=IND*  
 'The *äkewä* bird is not large.'
- 4) *Nqä aɣi mäyinjī.*  
*n=qä aɣä=i m=ɣi=nji*  
*1s=POSS house-DEF down=LOC=IND*  
 'My house is down there.'
- 5) *Moni naqäɣganji.*  
*moni naqä=ɣga=nji*  
*money big=TIME=IND*  
 'It's big money time (= fines are big these days).'

## 2.2.2 Polar interrogative mood

The polar interrogative mood, whereby the speaker is soliciting a statement about the truth or falsity of the proposition, is expressed by the clitic *=ta* and a sustained high intonation over the last several syllables of the sentence.

- 6) "*Si apäkä täyuktanä?*"  
*si apäkä täɣä=ɣu=k-ta-nä*  
*2s woman near=M=2s=POLQ=QT*  
 ' "Do you have a wife?" '
- 7) "*Matinäktanä?*"  
*Matinä=k-ta-nä*  
*Martin=2s=POLQ=QT*  
 ' "Are you Martin?" '

Where the speaker presents alternatives and solicits identification of the appropriate or correct variant, then both alternatives are treated as polar questions and normally marked with the clitic (8) but these can be omitted (9).

- 8) *Täqu tqä hiyeqäta, huiyiqueqäta?*  
*tä=qu t=qä hiyeqä=ta huiyi=qu=e-qä=ta*  
*this=M 2s=POSS dog=POLQ other=M=OJ=POSS=POLQ*  
 'Is this your dog or another's?'

- 9) *Eqä asique, hyque mända?*  
*eqä ak=qu=e hy=qu=e mända*  
 water same=M=OJ INDEF=M=OJ beyond  
 'Was it the same river or one beyond?'

### 2.2.3 Content (WH) question mood

Content questions contain a question word and indicate that the speaker wishes the addressee to identify the argument that the question word refers to. In Menya, in addition to the question word, these sentences are frequently marked with the clitic =wä, as in (10), but can bear the indicative =i, hence the alternative forms in (11)<sup>14</sup>. The intonation pattern is falling, as for indicative sentences.

- 10) *Qe änginyqäwä?*  
*qe ängi=ηqä=wä*  
 2D where=GOAL=INFOQ  
 'Where are you two (going)?'
- 11) *I täqueqä aηi? ~ aηäwä?*  
*i tä=qu=e=qä aηä=i aηä=wä*  
 that this=M=OJ=POSS house=IND house=INFOQ  
 'That is whose house?'

The situation is further complicated by the existence of another clitic, =kä, which overlaps with =wä and =i. It is far more limited in distribution, and even in its most frequent context of occurrence it is interchangeable with these other two mood clitics.

- 12) *Saqä qokiqu ängikä? ~ ängiwä? ~ ängiyi?*  
*t=yaqä qokä-i=qu ängi=kä ängi=wä ängi=i*  
 2S=POSS male=DEF=M where=MOOD where=INFOQ where=IND  
 'Where is your husband?'

As most of the above examples show, the question word is generally in the predicate position – that is, sentence final. Even in sentences like (11), the proposition can be structured so as to reflect this preference, yielding (13).

- 13) *Aηi täqueqäwä?*  
*aηä=i tä=qu=e=qä=wä*  
 house-that this=M=OJ=POSS=INFOQ  
 'That house is whose?'

When a question word occurs in a verbal clause, its preferred position is immediately before the verb.

<sup>14</sup> The question word 'who' is a form of the near deictic 'this' as described in (3.1.2)



- 14) *Iqua qua ängi ptepyqäwä?*  
*i-qu=a qua ängi pt-e-p-tyqä=wä*  
 that=M=PL ground where dig-put-23P/IRR=GOAL=INFOQ  
 'Where are they going to bury (him)?'

### 2.2.4 Dubitative mood

The final mood category parallels the polar interrogative in form but its clitic is *=ti* rather than *=ta*. Both moods communicate a lack of knowledge on the part of the speaker but, whereas the polar interrogative elicits the information from the addressee, the dubitative only expresses the lack of knowledge or certainty. Indeed, this form is often used in response to a question to express an inability to provide the requested information.

- 15) *Iqu ämaqä naqäquti.*  
*i-qu ämaqä naqä-qu=ti*  
 that=M person big=M=DUBIT  
 'Is he an important person, I wonder.' OR 'I do not know if he's an important person.'

The dubitative mood not only marks doubt about the truth value of a proposition but also about the identity of an argument within a proposition. Thus, as in (16), the clitic *=ti* can co-occur with a question word, again either as an initiating statement of uncertainty or as an uncertain response to a question.

- 16) *Ayi täqueqäti.*  
*ayä=i tä-qu=e-qä=ti*  
 house-that this=M=OJ=POSS=DUBIT  
 'I wonder (I do not know) whose house this is.'

## 2.3 Verbal clause structure overview

In many ways, the clause or simple sentence is the central component in the structure of a language, just as the 'room' is the central component in the design of a building. Just as the components of a room (such as the floor, walls, ceiling, etc.) can exist alone as structures (as a basketball pad, garden wall or carport, for example) without being considered a building, so elements of a clause (such as a phrase, word, etc.) can stand alone as an utterance in certain contexts but are recognized as deficient structures (fragment sentences). And just as the structure of a normal building is far more complex than a single room, so the structure of a natural language utterance is generally far more complex than a single clause. The clause, the expression of a proposition about some entity (concrete or abstract) anchored in time and space, is the

minimal utterance that can meaningfully stand alone<sup>15</sup>. Accordingly, the structure of the clause or simple sentence is probably the most thoroughly studied aspect of grammar generally and of most individual languages that have been studied. An exception would be heavily inflected languages such as Greek, where much more attention has, until recently, been paid to morphology than syntax.

The vast majority of clauses in any natural language contain, as their structural and semantic core, a verb which connects most if not all the other elements into a meaningful whole. The objective in this section is to provide an overview of the structure of the verbal clause in Menya. Many of the specific details provided in this section are drawn from a careful analysis of 8 mixed-genre texts authored by three different speakers and containing a total of 758 clauses, of which 725 are verbal.

### 2.3.1 Word order

Menya is quite rigidly a verb-final language. As is the norm for Papuan languages of the proposed Trans-New Guinea Phylum, the basic clause order is SOV regardless of whether S and O are expressed as noun phrases or pronouns. Table 4 displays the distribution of the possible word orders (row labels) according to NP manifestation options (column labels) as found in the 758 clause sample<sup>16</sup>. In the column labels, order is not significant but upper case represents NP manifestation and lower case represents pronominal expression. In elicited data, the SOV order is invariant; in text data it is overwhelmingly more frequent. In the majority of clauses in natural text (663 in this sample), there is not an overt reference to both S and O, other than by verbal affixation, and so three-term basic word order is not fully applicable. Where only one of S and O is overt, however, it is almost invariably before the verb, confirming the verb-final pattern.

Examples (17) and (18) represent the most frequent patterns for clauses in which both S and O are overtly specified. The exceptions to the SOV pattern are conditioned by pragmatic factors; topical entities are fronted or even extracted (left-dislocated) from the clause into the frame and any NP can be postposed after the verb either as an afterthought clarification of identity or for special effect.

<sup>15</sup> While a person's response in a conversation can consist of only a sentence fragment, or even an interjection, such utterances are not meaningful in isolation. A single-clause sentence can, however, be meaningful without any other verbal context.

<sup>16</sup> The data here does not take into consideration that in some instances the overt subject or object is within the frame immediately preceding the clause in which it bears the role. Further discrimination would reduce the numbers but not the fact of the domination of SOV order.

Table 4. Basic word order

	S & O	s & O	S & o	s & o	Totals
SOV	24	53	2	7	86
OSV	2	4	0	1	7
OVS	1	0	0	0	1
SVO	1	0	0	0	1
VSO	0	0	0	0	0
VOS	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	28	57	2	8	95

- 17) S O V  
*Matiu iqu wäuyä iqäqe.*  
*Matiu i-qu wäuyä i-q-qäqä=i*  
 Matthew that=M work do-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'Matthew worked (recently).'

- 18) s O V  
*...ii buayä hikä ikikäqäqe.*  
*i=i buayä hikä iki-k-qäqä=i*  
 that=F sweet.potato stone cook-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 '...she cooked the sweet potato (on stones in a covered pit).'

### 2.3.2 The status of subject and object

The discussion thus far assumes that S and O are clearly defined and readily identifiable elements, generally labelled 'subject' and 'object'. That is, however, a false assumption as witnessed by the extensive literature in the past 30 years (for example, Li 1976 and Schachter 1977) about the definition and status of subject. Halliday (1994:30-33) points out that three distinct functions have been labelled as 'subject' and that in many clauses the three converge on a single referent, leaving no ambiguity. In other clauses, however, these functions are spread between two different referents, with any one of the three functions able to have a distinct referent than that of the other two. In still other instances, the functions can be assigned to different referents without any overlap. His three functions, their definition, and his preferred labels are summarized in Table 5.

Table 5. Subject functions as defined by Halliday.

function	definition	label
psychological subject	'that which is the concern of the message... what the speaker had in mind to start with...'	theme
grammatical subject	'that of which something is predicated... seen to determine various other grammatical features...'	subject
logical subject	'doer of the action... having to do with relations between things...'	actor

In the default or basic encoding of a proposition in Menya, the three subjects converge on a single entity, as is the case for English. English has a very clear category of grammatical subject and employs constructions such as the passive to make changes in its assignment, with concomitant changes to other grammatical features such as verb agreement and pronoun selection. Menya, on the other hand, does not exhibit such flexibility. Grammatical subject status is assigned by the case frame<sup>17</sup> of the verb (4.1.2) and its only grammatical correlate is that it is not case-marked (2.3.3 and 3.1.2). Though verb agreement is extensive in Menya (2.3.3 and 4.2), it is determined by the logical relations ACTOR and AFFECTEE -- the most salient entity, other than the actor, who is affected by the event. Word order is determined by pragmatic factors, including assignment of the psychological subject function. Most verbs assign grammatical subject status to the actor and its referent is more often than not the speaker's choice as the psychological subject, leading to the frequent convergence of the three subject functions. The minimal role for syntax in the clause that is described here is not unusual for Papuan languages. Foley (1986:175) states that "for Barai, syntax must be recognized as an independent parameter in the organization of the clause. This is the only Papuan language I know for which this holds, whereas it is the norm for European languages."

The dominant syntactic function that has been described as subject-oriented for Papuan languages is the switch-reference system -- the marking of one clause to indicate whether the tracked referent is the same or different in the subsequent text. It is generally described as same subject (SS) and different subject (DS) marking but there is disagreement as to which subject function is being tracked<sup>18</sup>. For Menya (5.1.2), the

<sup>17</sup> Fillmore introduced the concept of case frame in his 1968 article. The case frame of a verb specifies what nominal arguments need to be identified to fully specify the predication.

<sup>18</sup> In Foley's (1986:183ff.) analysis it is the Actor that is being tracked so he uses the terms same-actor and different-

overriding factor in the switch-reference system is pragmatic, the topical entity being tracked. In the unmarked or normal scenario, especially in main-line material, the topical entity of a larger stretch of discourse is also the psychological subject of each clause<sup>19</sup>. Since most verbs assign the subject function to the actor and this referent is the default choice as psychological subject, the crucial examples for determining what function is actually being monitored are a minority of the marked clauses.

In this grammar, when I use the term **SUBJECT**, it will refer to the grammatical function, which is always encoded in the unmarked case. The term **ACTOR** will be used for the logical subject, which is encoded by the verb suffix. For the psychological subject, I will use the term **CLAUSE TOPIC**, rather than Halliday's 'theme', to avoid the ambiguity of that term, while maintaining a distinction between the psychological subject and higher levels of topic; it is encoded as the first-mentioned NP, though often that mention is prior to the clause itself.

The term 'object' is not discussed in detail by Halliday but I understand it to also be a multi-function term, though perhaps not as complex as 'subject'. The logical object would be an entity that is affected by the event and not necessarily distinct from the logical subject<sup>20</sup>. The grammatical object, henceforth simply **OBJECT**, would be a necessarily distinct entity in the clause and be assigned grammatical features different from those assigned to the **SUBJECT**. Some Menya verbs assign the **SUBJECT** function to the logical object (4.1.2.4) so the logical object is not always the grammatical object. Whether the **OBJECT**, when there is one, is always a logical object is a matter of how 'affected by the event' is interpreted. A **RECIPIENT** in Menya always has precedence over a **PATIENT** in being assigned the **OBJECT** function and is cross-referenced on the verb as the **AFFECTEE**. I will not address the question of whether the recipient in such cases is the logical object.

### 2.3.3 Role discrimination: verb agreement & case marking

This section will briefly outline the encoding of these functions or roles in the Menya clause. As can be seen in examples (17) and (18) above, there is no case marking on any of the NPs labelled as S or O. There

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actor. Reesink (1983), Roberts (1988 and 1997) and Stirling (1993) are among the many to have addressed the issue of what is being tracked.

<sup>19</sup> Though the terminology and definitions vary, Halliday (1994) and Givón (1984) both recognize a clause level topic as well as a higher level topical or thematic entity.

<sup>20</sup> In the sentence 'I moved across the room' the speaker is both performing and being affected by the event; this is also true of reflexive predications.

is, however, a suffix on the verb which agrees in person and number with the person performing the predicated event, the ACTOR. In these and most other clauses the actor<sup>21</sup> is also the SUBJECT and the CLAUSE TOPIC. Almost all verbal predicates bear an affix from one of several seven-member sets of actor suffixes, all of which differentiate first, second and third person and singular, dual and plural number but conflate the non-first duals and the non-first plurals, yielding the pattern shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Actor suffix distinctions

	singular	dual	plural
first	1S	1D	1P
second	2S	23D	23P
third	3S		

Noun phrases referring to humans (and non-humans that play a prominent role in a text) generally conclude with a demonstrative, such as *iqu* in (17). These demonstratives can also stand alone as pronouns, and when the referent is not the subject of the clause they normally bear a case-marking clitic that will be referred to as the object clitic and glossed as OJ in all occurrences. When the NP or pronoun is an object of the verb (recipient, addressee, patient, etc.), there is no further case marking. Other roles are indicated by an adpositional clitic following the object clitic, in which case the NP is the object of the adposition.

In addition to the actor suffix, many verbs also require a prefix agreeing in person and number with the most salient affected entity, which is generally the object. These AFFECTEE prefixes distinguish first, second and third persons, but only differentiate number in the first and second persons, yielding the following matrix. (Since there is only one set of these affixes, the actual shape of the morphemes are given here rather than the category abbreviations that were given in Table 6.)

<sup>21</sup> Rather than capitalizing these terms on every occasion, I will do so only at their first mention in a section, as a reminder that a specific meaning is intended that is not necessarily universal.

Table 7. Verb prefixes indicating affectee<sup>22</sup>

	singular	dual	plural
first	<i>n-</i>	<i>ya-</i>	<i>na-</i>
second	<i>k-</i>	<i>qe-</i>	<i>e-</i>
third	<i>w- ~ Ø</i>		

In the first part of (19), the recipient object (labelled as O) is human and bears the object clitic =*e*, and the verb prefix is third person agreeing with Shem. In the second half of this example, the recipient object is the first person pronoun, which does not bear a case marker but is cross-referenced by the verb prefix<sup>23</sup>.

- 19) S                      O<sub>2</sub>                      V                                      O  
*Rupenā iqu eiti kina āwikāqāqe,*                      *Semā ique.*  
*Rupenā i-qu eiti kina ā-w-i-k-qāqā-i*                      *Semā i-qu-e*  
 Reuben that=M eighty kina ASS-3-do-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND Shem that=M-OJ
- O O<sub>2</sub>                      V  
*Nyi eiti kina āndapkāqāqe.*  
*nyi eiti kina ā-n-tap-k-qāqā-i*  
 Is eighty kina ASS-1S-give-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'Reuben gave him, that is Shem, eighty kina. He gave me eighty kina.'

In summary, the subject is not case-marked, is normally the first of the overt NPs and also usually the actor and, therefore, cross-referenced by the verb suffix<sup>24</sup>. The object normally occurs after the subject (when both are overtly specified) and, if it is human (therefore potentially confusable as the subject), it is case-marked as an object and cross-referenced by the verb prefix.

In a ditransitive clause with an overt patient entity, such as 'eighty kina' in (19), the patient is treated as a secondary object. If there is an accompanying demonstrative, it will be the object-marked form. The secondary object normally follows the subject and primary object, but is not cross-referenced on the verb<sup>25</sup>. In the main clause of (20), the village men and the mythical snake are only indexed by the verb suffix and

<sup>22</sup> Those familiar with the three pronoun systems proposed by Wurm (1975 & 1982) as characteristic of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum will recognize the 1S, 2S and 1P forms to be related to his Set I, which is the most widely attested set.

<sup>23</sup> Note that the verb root *tap* 'give' is only used with a first or second person recipient, the verb *w-i* 'do someone' being used for giving to a third person.

<sup>24</sup> For an example in which there is only partial identity between the subject and the actor-marking on the verb see (143) in 3.4.5, where the actor marking includes the ACCOMPANIER who is not part of the SUBJECT.

<sup>25</sup> A single instance of a double patient prefix has been found in text even though such forms are not accepted in elicitation.

prefix indicating their role as actor and affectee (and indirectly as subject and object). The women who were given to the snake are encoded as a secondary object. Though the prefix on the verb is ambiguous in that it does not specify number or gender, having the people retell this event from the perspective of the women makes it clear that the prefix is referring to the snake rather than to the women.

- 20) Frame O<sub>2</sub> o-V-s  
*E tuqangayi, apäkä huaqui äwikuwi.*  
*e w-t-q-ang=nga=ni apäkä hn=u-aqu=i ä-w-i-k-uwä=i*  
 that 3-tell-PFV-DR=TIME=GVN woman INDEF=F=DL=OJ ASS-3-do-PA/PFV-23P/DSO=IND  
 'After he (a mythical snake) told them (the village men) that, they gave him two women.'

All the discussion and examples to this point have related to (di)transitive clauses. The single core argument of an intransitive clause in Menya is treated in the same way as the actor/subject of a transitive clause, making Menya a nominative-accusative language. I have encountered no evidence of ergative patterning in the language.

Nominal elements of the clause other than the subject and object(s) are, in Menya, marked by postpositional clitics that indicate their role. When they co-occur with one of the major arguments, their default position is between the arguments and the verb but this can be overridden by pragmatic considerations. In the following examples, clause components are in their default order and the clitics have been highlighted.

- 21) S Origin Destination V  
*Ne ayä yäñisayl, Womäquaqaäñqä äpäukuque.*  
*ne ayä yä=ni=ta=ni Womäquaqaä=ñqä ä-p-w-k-qäqu=i*  
 1P village up=LOC-ORIG=GVN Kapo=GOAL ASS-come-go-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'From up at the village, we travelled to Kapo.'
- 22) S Purpose[Goal Goal Instr V]  
*Iqu päñäñqätä guäñqätä hiuñä qunätñqä*  
*i=qu päñä=ñqä=tä guä=ñqä=tä hiuñä w-q-n-ät=ñqä*  
 that=M betel=GOAL=& vine=GOAL=& eye 3-act-DETR-3S/IRR=GOAL  
 Destination V  
*qäñqä yätuñqä äikäqe.*  
*qäñqä yä=tu=ñqä ä-y-k-qäqä=i*  
 forest up=LOC=GOAL ASS-go.up-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'He had gone up to the forest to look for betel nut and bush rope.'



- 23) V O Loc V  
*Ätimäüäqe, kati Kapo ndu emäyi,...*  
*ä-timäü-äqe katä-i Kapo n-tu e-mä-yi*  
 ASS-arrive-3S/DSR car=DEF Kapo level=LOC put-SER/SEM=GVN  
 'He arrived and, having parked the car at Kapo,...'
- 24) S Time V  
*Si hikyänga ikitäqängä ma mikiqä da isyqe.*  
*si hikyā=nga ikä-ätq-äy-yä ma ma-ikā-qä da i-t=ŋqä=i*  
 2s youth-TIME tour-PRGV-IPFV-2S/DSO like NEG-tour-DVZR indeed do-2S/IRR=GOAL=INDIC  
 'You are not to wander around as you wandered when a youth.'

### 2.3.4 Clause complexity

Although the 'normal' order of the elements of a clause is subject-object-oblique-verb<sup>26</sup>, many of the examples in the preceding section are noteworthy in that they contain two or more nominal elements. In the 758-clause text sample referred to above there is an average of 1.23 nominal elements per clause. Thus, even two nominal elements in a clause, while not rare, is significantly above the average. In order to maintain this controlled rate of information flow, one or more of the nominal elements are often specified within the sentence frame preceding the actual clause, or provided after the verb, as if they were afterthoughts. These devices are particularly frequent at sentence boundaries though they are by no means rare in the middle of a sentence. In (25), the two time phrases constitute the frame and three phrases follow the verb which still leaves three arguments within the clause<sup>27</sup>.

- 25) Time Time S O<sub>2</sub> Instr  
*po iqueyi Mandeyi, Rupen iquä Josepä iquä balusi mbqä*  
*po i-qu=e-yi Mande-yi Rupen i-qu=tä Josepä i-qu=tä balusi mbqä*  
 four that=M-OJ=GVN Monday=GVN Reuben that=M-& Joseph that=M-& plane money  
 V O Destination Means  
*äyekiyi, Sem iquä nyitä, Nasapqä buŋqä jetqeu.*  
*ä-ya-i-k-iyä-i Sem i-qu=tä nyi-tä Nasapqä m-tu=ŋqä jetqä-i=u*  
 ASS-1D-do-PA/PFV-23D/DSO=IND Shem that=M-& 1s-& Nadzab below=LOC=GOAL jet=DEF=LOC  
 '...in the fourth week, on Monday, Reuben and Joseph bought Shem and me plane tickets, to Nadzab by jet.'

<sup>26</sup> Order being determined by topicality factors (Halliday's psychological) and their default assignment matching grammatical functions.

<sup>27</sup> This clause is still very heavy and could possibly be explained by claiming that a purpose clause 'for Shem and I to go to Nadzab by jet' has been postposed and its verb omitted leaving the three NPs stranded after the main clause. This would also explain why *Sem iqu* does not bear the object marker =*e*.

By default, the most focal position in the clause is the immediate pre-verbal position. Accordingly, adverbials are almost always in this position, especially those of manner which are always focal, as in (26). Similarly, question words are almost always just before the verb, as in (27).

- 26) *Piyä yaqiyqaygani, ye tnäñänä qe äpekuee.*  
*piyä ya-q-q-ayg=ya=ni ye tnäñä=nä qe ä-p-y-k-ueä=i*  
 rain 1D-act-PFV-DR=TIME=GVN 1D quick=FCS CERT ASS-come-go.up-PA/PFV-1D/DSO=IND  
 'When it was raining on us, we travelled up quickly.'

- 27) *Nyi yatqä sŋqä nyisŋqe?*  
*nyi yatqä s=ŋqä n-i-t=ŋqä=i*  
 1s question what=GOAL 1s-do-2s/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'Why are you asking me?' OR 'What are you asking me about?'

### 2.3.5 Tense, aspect, modality & negation

Tense, aspect and modality are all marked on the verb in the form of suffixes, many of which are portmanteau<sup>28</sup> morphemes. Three degrees of past tense are distinguished but only on finite verbs. They are encoded in the form of portmanteau morphemes (that also indicate aspect) in combination with two distinct sets of actor suffixes. These two sets of actor suffixes indicate a contrast in the degree of relevance of the event to the speech act, one application of this contrast being to encode the difference between present and near past predications.

- 28) *Nyi wäuñä iqä. ~ Nyi wäuñä iqäqäqe.*  
*nyi wäuñä i-q-ä nyi wäuñä i-q-qäqä-i*  
 1s work do-PFV-1S/ASO 1s work do-PFV-1S/DSO=IND  
 'I am working.' ~ 'I worked (within the last few days).'

The primary aspectual distinction is between perfective and imperfective, which reflects the speaker's choice as to whether or not to focus attention on the internal temporal complexity of the proposition being encoded (Comrie 1976:21-24). All propositions about future events and generalizations about normal behaviour are in the irrealis mode, indicating a lack of certainty about the factuality of the proposition. Irrealis is indicated throughout the verb system (finite and non-finite forms) by a third set of actor suffixes. These distinctions will be further explained and illustrated in 4.2.2.

<sup>28</sup> The morphemes I am referring to here as portmanteau systematically encode two elements of meanings such as 1) tense and aspect and 2) person, number and irrealis. This is in contrast to morphemes which idiosyncratically encode two elements of meaning which are generally encoded in the language by separate morphemes such as French *au* and *aux*.

Clausal negation is indicated by the prefix *ma-* on the verb. However, while this prefix can occur on any verb form, it almost always occurs on a deverbalized form which is followed by one of two verbs bearing the relevant further suffixation. The two verbs are *i* 'do', as in (29), or *e* 'be' and encode active and stative predications, respectively. Occasionally, as in (30), the inflected verb is not one of these generic verbs and the negated verb serves an adverbial function.

- 29) ...*iqu hiunjiŋga matimäuqä da ikäqe.*  
*i-qu hiunji-ŋga ma-timäu-qä da i-k-qäqä-i*  
 that=M daytime=TIME NEG-arrive-DVZR indeed do-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 '...he didn't arrive in the middle of the day.'
- 30) ...*apäkä iuaqu ... maqqqä äuyämakeyi.*  
*apäkä i-i-aqu - ma-q-n-qä ä-uyäma-k-iyä-i*  
 woman that=F-DL - NEG-act-DETR-DVZR ASS-leave-PA/PFV-23/D=IND  
 '...the two women left unseen.'

Positive deverbalized forms can also be used adverbially, as in (31). The analysis that is proposed in 4.3.3 is that the deverbal form (whether positive or negative) is the head of a deverbalized clause that functions as a manner adverb within its matrix clause, even in the regular negative construction where the matrix is one of the generic verbs. This analysis is reflected in the bracketing in the top line of examples (31) and (32).

- 31) S Manr[Manr V] V  
*iqu apäkänä iqä äyapmiŋqe.*  
*i-qu apäkä-nä i-qä ä-yap-miŋ-qäqä-i*  
 that=M slowly-FCS do-DVZR ASS-come.up-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 '...he was coming up slowly.' (lit. he was coming up while performing for a long time)
- 32) S Manr[Loc V] V  
*Iqua iqi mäpmeqä itaŋguwäŋga...*  
*i-qu=a i-qi ma-pma-qä i-ät-aŋg-uwä-ŋga*  
 that=M=PL that-LOC NEG-be-DVZR do-IPFV-DR-23P/DSO=TIME  
 'They were not there and ...'

## 2.4 Clause linkage overview

As is the case with most Papuan languages, the most distinctive features of the clause linkage system in Menya is the existence of MEDIAL verbs and a SWITCH REFERENCE system. That is to say, in the normal conjoining of clauses into a complex sentence, all but the last verb are forms which are non-finite in that they lack tense and mood markings. They are, however, marked to indicate the nature of the relationship

between the clauses, and whether the topical entity of the marked clause is the same as or different from that of the following clause on which it is dependent.

Foley (1986:175-198) describes a variety of such systems found among Papuan languages. He distinguishes between non-final clauses as being (1) dependent on and subordinate to a main clause, that is embedded either as an argument of or within an argument of the main clause, or (2) dependent on but coordinate with a main clause, that is it depends on another clause for the specification of some categories of information but is not embedded within that clause in any way. Only the latter group are medial verbs in Foley's categorization. He goes on to describe variation among languages according to the semantic distinctions encoded by the medial or coordinate-dependent verbs, including variation as to how this distinction interacts with a switch-reference system. Some languages have a medial verb system without having a switch-reference system, others have medial verbs only when the same referent is maintained across clause boundaries, and yet others have both same-referent and different-referent medial verbs. A further distinction which Foley makes that is pertinent to many Papuan languages is that between medial verbs and "serial or compound verb structures ... in which verb-stems are juxtaposed to form a complex predicate, which then takes a single set of core and peripheral arguments to form one clause" (1986:178). These distinctions are valid and useful, and generally match up with a scale of morphological complexity ranging from simple stems through finite verbs. However, as is to be expected of generalizations, these distinctions only partially match the features of Menya verb forms and clause linkage. Specifically, the syntactic criterion of embeddedness/subordinateness versus coordinateness does not parallel the morphological distinctions of Menya verbs. Therefore the verb forms that will be classified as medial for Menya are morphologically distinct from final verbs but they do not all meet Foley's coordinate-dependent definition.

#### **2.4.1 Serialization**

At the less finite end of the scale, Menya contrasts the compounding of verb roots to yield a complex verb stem (33), with the serial verb pattern (5.3) of juxtaposing a verb without an actor suffix and a more-fully-inflected verb (34). There are significant lexically-based restrictions on each of these kinds of construction, however. Compounding (4.1.3) is only allowed with certain semantically compatible verb

roots, and serialization (5.3) normally only combines two verbs, the second of which is always a motion verb.

- 33) *...ne quea qe ätqämanmiñque.*  
*ne quea qe ä-t-qäma-n-miñ-qäqu=i*  
 1P story CERT ASS-say-remain-DETR-PA/IPFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 '...we remained there telling stories.'
- 34) *Biysu iqu ... katä änäma äpekäqe.*  
*biysu i-qu katä ä-na-ma ä-p-y-k-qäqä*  
 mission that=M car ASS-1P-get ASS-come-go.up-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'The missionary picked us up and took us up by car.'

## 2.4.2 Different-referent medials

All non-final verb forms in Menya, other than the serial verbs, bear an actor suffix making the same seven-way person-number distinctions that have already been described for final verbs (Table 6). Those which indicate a change in topical entity (DR) use the same three sets of actor suffixes as the final verbs do, and they also make the same aspectual distinctions. They differ primarily in that they bear a specific different-referent suffix *-ayg* between the aspect and actor suffixes but do not indicate absolute tense or mood. The perfective forms generally indicate a sequential relationship between the marked and the matrix clause (35) and the imperfective forms indicate simultaneity (36). This is in accord with Foley's statement (1986:180) that "Normally, they [dependent verbs] encode differences of temporal relations between the clauses ... and the one which underlies all more complex ones is between simultaneous and sequential actions". The most frequent different-referent medials (4.2.4.1.1) bear a subordinator which indicates the relevant semantic relationship with their matrix clause (the default case being time as in (35) and (36)). The other main set of DR forms, however, does not bear any indicator of the semantic relationship with its matrix clause but coordinates the clause with that which follows (4.2.4.1.2). This is most clearly shown in (37) which reports the split in activities in what has to this point been a single group. Among its other uses are (i) as the equivalent to a complement within another clause (38) and (ii) sentence finally as a mild form of command (39)<sup>29</sup>. These two sets will be labelled as subordinate and coordinate DR medials respectively. The meaning of the terms 'coordinate' and 'subordinate' as used in this presentation of Menya grammar will be explained in the introduction to chapter 5.

<sup>29</sup> It is proposed that the missing matrix verb in such examples is an irrealis final form of the verb 'be'.

- 35) *Qu ti timäuqan̄guwäŋga iqu ti ätukäqe.*  
*qu ti timäu-q-aŋg-uwä=ŋga i=qu ti ä-w-t-k-qäqä-i*  
 3P thus arrive-PFV-DR-23P/DSO=TIME that=M thus ASS-3-tell-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'When they thus arrived, he told them this.'
- 36) *...iquaqu kukŋuä tätqätan̄giyäŋga äwimeqe,...*  
*i=qu=aqu kukŋuä t-ätq-ät-aŋg-iyä=ŋga ä-w-ima-äqe*  
 that=M=DL talk say-PRGV-IPFV-DR-23D/DSO=TIME ASS-3-meet-3S/DSR  
 '...while they two were talking he came upon them then...'
- 37) *ämaqä hŋqua mäŋi tqäüätan̄gä, hŋqune hiyqäŋqä*  
*ämaqä hn-qu=a m=ŋi tqäü-ät-aŋg-ä hn-qu=une hiyqä=ŋqä*  
 person INDEF=M=L below=LOC stand-IPFV-DR-23P/ASO INDEF=M=1P urine=GOAL  
*äpeyuqe.*  
*ä-p-y-q-qäqu=i*  
 ASS-come-go.up-PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 '...some people stood below and we others went up to urinate.'
- 38) *"Si nyi ti täqan̄gä äyä änyiyäŋinyä."*  
*si nyi ti t-q-aŋg-ä äyä ä-n-i-i-äŋ-n-yä*  
 2s 1s thus say-PFV-DR-3S/ASO just ASS-1s-do-BEN-IPFV-2S/ASO=QT  
 ' "You've just heard me say this." '
- 39) *...suqä iuŋi kŋŋuä äŋguänäŋä metan̄ggu.*  
*suqä i=u=ŋi kŋŋuä äŋguä-näŋä ma-ät-aŋg-p*  
 custom that=LOC=GVN thought good-very get-IPFV-DR-23P/CSR  
 '...keep those customs well in mind.'

### 2.4.3 Same-referent medials

The various same-referent medials, on the other hand, while using the same irrealis actor suffixes for uncertainty, use two distinct sets of actor suffixes for their realis forms (4.2.4.3). These two sets of suffixes interact with the presence/absence of an additional morpheme to yield four sets of SR medial forms, the grammaticality of one of them being suspect. No SR medial form requires an aspect marker and the sequential-simultaneous contrast is not generally coded. The most common set of forms, as used in (40), would fit Foley's definition of dependent coordinates and cover as broad a range of logical and temporal relationships as 'and' does in English. They can, however, be case-marked which subordinates them to the clause on which they are dependent. A second set of forms coordinates two or more clauses into a clause complex (41); this complex as a whole can be questioned or negated by a single matrix verb to which it is subordinated. Again, the range of temporal and logical relationships which can exist between the members of the complex is quite broad. The third set of realis same-referent medials also coordinates the clause with

that which follows but it is semantically constrained, in that the two situations predicated must be simultaneous, as in (42). These three sets will be labelled as dependent, coordinate and simultaneous SR medials respectively.

- 40) *Ämoqumeqe, iqi äpmamiŋqe.*  
*ä-moquma-age i=qi ä-pma-miŋ-qäqu=i*  
 ASS-find-1P/DSR that=LOC ASS-be-PA/IPFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'We found them then remained there.'
- 41) *...kanique äwimetä ti ätukäqe.*  
*kä-an=i-qu=e ä-w-ima-ät-ä ti ä-w-t-k-qäqä=i*  
 3-father=DEF=M=OJ ASS-3-meet-SR-3S/CSR thus ASS-3-tell-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 '...he came to the man's father and told him this.'
- 42) *Iqu balusiŋqä hiuŋä äqänä äpmamiŋqe.*  
*i-qu balusi=ŋqä hiuŋä ä-q-n-ä ä-pma-miŋ-qäqä=i*  
 that=M plane=GOAL eye ASS-act-DETR-3S/CSR ASS-be-PA/IPFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'He was watching for the plane.'

In summary, then, the various forms of the same-referent medials are syntactic packaging devices more than indicators of different temporal or logical relationships between the clauses. The different-referent medials, on the other hand, are more explicit regarding the temporal or logical relationship that exists between the propositions being encoded. These differences will be more fully explained and exemplified in 4.2.4 and 5.

#### 2.4.4 Finite forms used non-finally

Fully inflected forms, in addition to being used sentence finally, where they also normally bear one of the mood clitics presented in 2.2, are also used within a sentence in various ways. The most common of these is in relative clauses (5.4.2.1) but they are also used within the sentence 'frame' which was described above as setting the context within which the asserted portion of the sentence pertains (. A third non-final use, quite common in non-narrative discourse, is in the non-final conjuncts of what Longacre (1985:238) and Farr (1999:248ff) call co-ranking structures, in which two or more finite clauses (including any medials clauses dependent on them) are juxtaposed in a coordinate relationship (5.5.2).

### 3 NOMINAL EXPRESSIONS

This chapter will present the morphology and syntax of nominal expressions, beginning with pronouns (3.1) and moving on to nouns (3.2) and noun phrases (3.3), and then to the (case-)marking of these expressions to indicate their role in the clause (3.4). The last section will present the structure and use of coordination of nominal expressions (3.5).

As was explained in 2.3, the Menya verb in almost all its forms indicates the person and number of the ACTOR (which is generally also the SUBJECT). Many verbs also indicate the person and number of the most salient affected entity (generally the primary OBJECT) when its referent is human (occasionally extended to non-human). This permits the omission of NPs and pronouns referring to these core arguments; accordingly, the ratio of nominal expressions to verbal expressions is considerably lower<sup>30</sup> than in languages such as English where there is almost no such agreement between the verb and its arguments. The vast majority of noun phrases in Menya are, therefore, either introducing new participants or else referring to peripheral arguments.

#### 3.1 Pronouns

Three types of pronouns are available in Menya, varying in the degree of refinement of identification and of morphological complexity.

##### 3.1.1 Personal pronouns

By far the simplest pronouns in terms of both morphological complexity and refinement of identification are the personal pronouns, which are presented in Table 8. In this set of pronouns, Menya distinguishes singular (one referent only), dual (two referents only), and plural (more than two referents) and the three universal persons (speaker, addressee and other). These three persons and three numbers are distinguished throughout the personal reference systems of Menya though, as is the case here with second and third dual, there is usually some degree of conflation of categories. There is no gender differentiation in these pronouns and no inclusive/exclusive distinction for the first person non-singular forms.

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<sup>30</sup> In a 758-clause text sample, the average number of nominal elements per clause is 1.23, as discussed in 2.3.4.



Table 8 Personal pronouns

	singular	dual	plural
first	<i>nyi</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>ne</i>
second	<i>si</i>	<i>qe</i>	<i>he</i>
third	<i>ki</i>	( <i>qe</i> )	<i>qu</i>

In (43), the subjects of the clauses use one of these forms and have been highlighted. In (44), it is the object that is represented as a pronoun. Note that in each of these instances virtually the same information is also provided via the verbal affixes, which are underscored.

- 43) *Qu yatḡqä e äneyqanguwäḡga, ne yeqä itan*  
*qu yatḡqä e ä-na-i-i-q-aḡg-uwä=ḡga ne yeqä i-ät-an*  
 3P question thus ASS-1P-do-BEN-PFV-DR-23P/DSO=TIME 1P greet do-SR-1P/CSR

*kimaḡi ti qe ätukuque.*

*kimaḡi ti qe ä-w-t-k-qäqu=i*

respond thus CERT ASS-3-say-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND

'When they asked this, we greeted them and responded like this.'

- 44) "Nyi ämbäsikäquwiqä."  
*nyi ä-n-päk-ik-q-uwä=i=qä*  
 1s ASS-1s-hit-cook-PR/PFV-23P/DSO=IND=QT  
 '“You killed and cooked me (a mythical snake).”'

The forms given in Table 8 are the unmarked forms, which are used for core arguments and to which the various case markers are attached for non-core arguments. The third person forms are rarely used, relative to the demonstrative pronouns introduced below. The third dual form *qe*, which is identical to and probably an extended use of the second dual, has never been observed in the unmarked form but is used in the emphatic forms given below. (Table 9 provides the various genitive forms of the personal pronouns. Based on observed usage and native speaker evaluation, there is no discernable difference between the forms with =*qä* and those with =*yaqä* but the former are far more frequent, especially in the non-first persons.

Table 9 Personal pronouns – genitive &amp; emphatic forms

	first sing.	second sing.	third sing.	first dual	second or third dual	first plural	second plural	third plural
basic	<i>nyi</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>qe</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>qu</i>
genitive =qä	<i>ŋqä</i> <i>n=qä</i>	<i>tqä</i> <i>t=qä</i>	<i>kiqä</i> <i>ki=qä</i>	<i>yeqä</i> <i>ye=qä</i>	<i>qeqä</i> <i>qe=qä</i>	<i>neqä</i> <i>ne=qä</i>	<i>hiqä</i> <i>he=qä</i>	<i>quwqä</i> <i>qu=qä</i>
genitive =yaqä	<i>nyaqä</i> <i>n=yaqä</i>	<i>saqä</i> <i>t=yaqä</i>	<i>keyaqä</i> <i>(kiyaqä<sup>31</sup>)</i> <i>ki=yaqä</i>	<i>yeyaqä</i> <i>ye=yaqä</i>	<i>qeyaqä</i> <i>qe=yaqä</i>	<i>neyaqä</i> <i>ne=yaqä</i>	<i>heyayä</i> <i>~hiyaqä</i> <i>he=yaqä</i>	<i>quyaqä</i> <i>qu=yaqä</i>
emphatic =uä	<i>näuä</i> <i>n=uä</i>	<i>täuä</i> <i>t=uä</i>	<i>kiuä</i> <i>ki=uä</i>	<i>yäuä</i> <i>ye=uä</i>	<i>qeuä</i> <i>qe=uä</i>	<i>näuä</i> <i>ne=uä</i>	<i>hiuä</i> <i>he=uä</i>	<i>quwä</i> <i>qu=uä</i>

The genitive pronouns can function as either the pre-head possessor within an NP (45) or stand alone as an NP in their own right (46). The forms in the last row, labelled emphatic<sup>32</sup>, do not occur in isolation but follow the first of the two genitive forms to provide an emphatic, often contrastive, focus on the referent (47). Based on the evidence presented here, it is quite likely that the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> singular basic forms derive from the root consonant (*n*- and *t*- respectively) followed by a marker *-i* which triggers palatalization, yielding the forms shown in the table. Irregular morphophonemic processes are in evidence in some of the other forms also.

- 45) ...*neqä aŋämäqä qayä qe äwäkuqe.*  
*ne=qä aŋä=m=ŋqä qayä qe ä-wä-k-qäqu=i*  
 1P=POSS house-unseen-GOAL walk CERT ASS-go.down-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 '...we walked down to our far away home(s).'

- 46) *Aŋä näŋi, nyaqe.*  
*aŋä n=ŋi n=yaqä=i*  
 house level=LOC 1S=POSS=IND  
 'The house over there is mine.'

- 47) *Iygaŋi, wäuŋi Dewiti iqu kiqä kiui ikäqe.*  
*i=ŋga=ŋi wäuŋä=i Dewiti i=qu ki=qä ki=uä=i i-k-qäqä=i*  
 that=TIME=GVN work=DEF David that=M 3S=POSS 3S=POSS=DEF do-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
*Nyi ŋqä kiui ikäqe.*  
*nyi n=qä ki=uä=i i-k-qäqä=i*  
 1s 1S=POSS 3S=POSS=DEF do-PA/PFV-1S/DSO=IND  
 'At that time, David did his own work. I did my own.'

<sup>31</sup> Some younger speakers are regularizing to this but more mature speakers do not like it.

<sup>32</sup> The suffix =*uä* will be shown below to be a possessive suffix in its own right.

Both components of the emphatic pronoun generally agree in person and number with the referent, as is expected. The second instance in (47) is therefore unusual and the expected *ɣqä näu* would be acceptable in that context.

### 3.1.2 Demonstrative pronouns

For reference to a 'third person' as opposed to one of the speech act participants, the personal pronouns given above are rarely used, to the extent that they are not even mentioned in Jordan's 1963 manuscript. Instead, pronominal forms based on the demonstrative roots are used. These roots are displayed in Table 10, where the asterisk<sup>33</sup> indicates that the root is a bound form and, therefore, cannot stand alone. The near and far neutral roots have very general meanings, roughly equivalent to 'this' and 'that' in English, as in (48) and (49). The overall structure of the demonstrative pronouns as they will be presented in this section is given first. (The double parentheses at the end indicates that the object clitic is required with any of the oblique case clitics.)

dem. pronoun → dem. root (gender) (person/number) (object case (oblique case))

Table 10. Demonstrative roots

	near	far	indefinite	exactive
neutral	<i>tä</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>*hn</i>	<i>*qä</i>
level		<i>*n</i>		
above		<i>*yä</i>		
below		<i>*m</i>		

- 48) *Tä kiqä kănaipeyqä.*  
*tä ki-qä k-na-i=pa-i=qä*  
 this 3s=POSS 3-mother=DEF-HON=IND=QT  
 '“This is his mother.”'

- 49) *I qäpu hetayga...*  
*i qäpu h-e-ät-ayg-ɣga*  
 that CMPL NEU-be-IPFV-DR=TIME  
 'That being completed, ...'

When referring to people, the demonstrative roots normally bear enclitics that, in addition to the three-way number distinction, indicate a four-way gender/class distinction – masculine/neutral, feminine,

<sup>33</sup> This usage is borrowed from the SIL-produces LinguaLinks Dictionary tool and is an extension of the normal use of the asterisk to indicate ungrammaticality. The use of such roots without affixes is ungrammatical.

honorific and diminutive. Appendix B.1 displays the resultant forms for all the roots. Table 11 provides the forms that are based on the most frequent of the roots, *i* 'that', which is also the most neutral semantically. In terms of deictic reference, this root indicates only that the referent is not near the speaker. The morphemic analysis of the gender and number categories is given in the label rows.

Table 11. Demonstrative personal pronouns based on neutral *i* 'that'

	masculine = <i>qu</i>	feminine = <i>i</i> ~ = <i>u</i>	honorific = <i>pa</i>	diminutive = <i>pu</i> ~ = <i>su</i>
singular	<i>iqu</i> <i>i=qu</i>	<i>ii</i> <i>i=i</i>	<i>ipa</i> <i>i=pa</i>	<i>ipu</i> <i>i=pu</i>
dual = <i>aqu</i>	<i>iquaqu</i> <i>i=qu=aqu</i>	<i>luaqu</i> <i>i=u=aqu</i>	<i>lpequ</i> <i>i=pa=qu</i>	<i>lsuaqu</i> <i>i=su=aqu</i>
plural = <i>a</i>	<i>iqua</i> <i>i=qu=a</i>	<i>lua</i> <i>i=u=a</i>	<i>ipe</i> <i>i=pa=a</i>	<i>lsua</i> <i>i=su=a</i>

The masculine forms are used when all the referents are male (50) or when gender is deemed unimportant. The feminine forms are used when any of the referents are female and gender is deemed important (51). The honorific forms are used primarily to refer to older people, and the diminutive primarily to children, but only when the speaker chooses to be specific. Effectively, therefore, the masculine is the 'unmarked' form and can be used for any referent when the speaker chooses not to specify gender.

- 50) *Iqu suwi qäpu enäqe...*  
*i-qu suwä-i qäpu e-n-äqe*  
 that=M shoe=DEF CMPL be/put-DETR-3S/DSR  
 'He finished putting his shoes on ...'

- 51) *...luaqu buayä hikä ikikiyi.*  
*i-i=aqu buayä hikä iki-k-iyä-i*  
 that=F=DL sweet.potato stone cook-PA/PFV-23D/DSO=IND  
 '...they (two women) cooked the sweet potato in a ground-oven.'

Whereas the personal pronouns given in Table 8 are used for both subject and object arguments, the unmarked forms of the demonstrative pronouns given in Table 11 are only used for subject NPs. For the object, a clitic is added which varies according to number: generally =*e* 'SG', =*i* 'DL' and =*u* 'PL', as in (52). These object forms are used as the base for the genitive forms (53) and for other case-marking clitics

which will be introduced later (3.4). Table 12 gives the object and genitive equivalents of the masculine forms from Table 11. It will be noted that there are again two genitive suffixes but that the second is =uä rather than =yaqä. The differences between the two genitive suffixes are not clearly delineated but there are contexts where one is preferred. For example, when the head noun is *kukɣuä* 'talk', the =uä form is preferred, as in (54). The emphatic pronoun is again formed by the juxtaposition of two forms, the first being the -qä genitive and the second being the emphatic form of the personal pronoun, *kiuä* etc.

Table 12. Object and genitive forms of neutral masculine demonstrative pronouns

	singular	dual	plural
object =V	<i>ique</i> <i>i=qu=e</i>	<i>iquaqui</i> <i>i=qu=aqu=i</i>	<i>iquau</i> <i>i=qu=a=u</i>
genitive =qä	<i>iqueqä</i> <i>i=qu=e=qä</i>	<i>iquaquiyyä</i> <i>i=qu=aqu=i=qä</i>	<i>iquauqä</i> <i>i=qu=a=u=qä</i>
genitive =uä	<i>iqueuä</i> <i>i=qu=e=uä</i>	<i>iquaquiüä</i> <i>i=qu=aqu=i=uä</i>	<i>iquauä</i> <i>i=qu=a=uä</i>

- 52) *Suqä aayä yäyänäqqä tiyä iquau äuyätɣe.*  
*suqä aayä yäyänäqqä ti=ɣi i=qu=a=u ä-w-i-ätq-äɣ-qäqä=i*  
 custom truly strong thus-GVN that-M=PL=OJ ASS-3-do-PRGV-IPFV-1S/DSO=IND  
 'I give them the strongest instructions in this way.'

- 53) ...*iqua iquauqä ymeqä du motuqapnuwäyqä.*  
*i=qu=a i=qu=a=u=qä ymeqä n=du w-mätuqa-p-ni-uwä-yqä*  
 that-M=PL that-M=PL=OJ=POSS child level=LOC 3-show-23P/IRR-FUT-23P/DSO=GOAL  
 '... they will teach their (own) children.'

- 54) *Si iqueuä kukɣuä duɣi, qänaknä itn,...*  
*si i=qu=e=uä kukɣuä n=tu=ɣi qänaki-nä i-ät-n*  
 2S that-M=OJ=POSS talk level=LOC-GVN follow-FCS do-SR-2S/CSR  
 'You are to follow in his instructions and...'

The demonstrative personal pronouns shown so far are those based on the most neutral demonstrative root *i* 'that'. This set of demonstrative pronouns is by far the most frequent but, nevertheless, only one of eleven sets, all of which can potentially occur in all the forms that have been introduced. Table 13 provides the masculine singular form of each of the demonstrative pronoun sets. The nominative form for all person/number/gender combinations is given in Appendix B.1. Nine of them are deictically based,

indicating degrees of distance and/or elevation relative to the speaker.<sup>34</sup> The additional two are the indefinite and the 'exactive', which indicates roughly 'the very one(s)'. It should be noted that the root *i* 'that' neutralizes both the degrees of removal (mid and far) from the speaker and the elevation distinctions and that there are two forms having the 'mid, below' meaning. Note also that the masculine clitic for the 'far' roots is *=ŋu* rather than *=qu*; this pattern extends also to the dual and plural forms yielding, for instance, *yäŋuaqu* 'the two way up there' and *mäŋua* 'those way down there'.

Table 13. Masculine singular demonstrative pronouns.

	near	mid	far	indefinite	exactive
neutral	<i>tuqu</i> <i>tä=qu</i> this one	<i>iqu</i> <i>i=qu</i> that one		<i>hŋqu</i> <i>hn=qu</i> someone	<i>qäqu</i> <i>qä=qu</i> the very one
level		<i>nequ</i> <i>n=e=qu</i> the one there	<i>näŋu</i> <i>n=ŋu</i> the one way over there		
above		<i>yequ</i> <i>y=e=qu</i> the one up there	<i>yäŋu</i> <i>yä=ŋu</i> the one way up there		
below		<i>mequ ~ biqu</i> <i>m=e=qu ~ m=t=qu</i> the one down there	<i>mäŋu</i> <i>m=ŋu</i> the one way down there		

The seven sets that specify elevation are only used with literal, spatial reference as in (55).

- 55) *Yäŋu täqisanji.*  
*yä=ŋu tä=qi-ta-nji*  
 up=M this=LOC-ORIG-IND  
 'The fellow up there is from here.'

The four neutral forms on the other hand are frequently (exclusively for the indefinite and exactive forms) used with textual (anaphoric or cataphoric) reference or with what has elsewhere been called psychological reference. As is the case in many languages, the near demonstrative forms are often used cataphorically, pointing forward in the text to a referent that is about to be identified. In Menya, they are also used as interrogative pronouns when a human referent is expected as in (56).

<sup>34</sup> The mid-distance elevational roots are derived from the elevational roots presented in Table 10. See 3.3.3.1 for further evidence of these forms, including the source of the *-fi* in the second 'mid-below' form.

- 56) *Mbqe, si tuque äwikyävä?*  
*mbqä=i si tä=qu=e ä-w-i-k-ya=wä*  
 money=DEF 2S this=M=OJ ASS-3-do-PA/PFV-2S/DSO=INFOQ  
 'To whom did you give the money?'

As will become clear in the section on NP specification (3.3.3), the demonstrative pronominal forms discussed here function not only as free-standing pronouns but also as the post-head specifiers in noun phrases. Especially in that context but also occasionally when used as pronouns, a further enclitic can be added to the demonstrative to indicate that the NP/pronoun is identifying one of the speech act participants; these will be referred to as the PERSONALIZING CLITICS. In (57) the speaker wishes to refer to any one of the addressees and so uses the second singular form of the indefinite demonstrative; the regular second singular or plural pronoun from Table 8 would refer to one specific member of the audience or all of the audience collectively rather than the generic 'any one of you' desired here. Examples (58)<sup>35</sup> and (59) provide further instances of using the first and second person clitics on demonstratives used as specifiers rather than as pronouns.

- 57) *Hqyki quwä ämatqe,...*  
*hn-qu=ki quwä ä-ma-t-qä=i*  
 INDEF=M=2S steal ASS-get-2S/IRR-GEN=DEF  
 'Should one of you steal something,...'
- 58) *Nyi tängayi Matiu iquki kukyuä hui yatqä*  
*nyi tänga=qi Matiu i-qu=k=i kukyuä hn=i yatqä*  
 1s this=TIME=GVN Matthew that=M=2S=OJ talk INDEF=F ask  
*kimqe.*  
*k-i-m-ya=i*  
 2S-do-1S/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'I'm now going to ask you Matthew something.'
- 59) *Ne ämaqä qokä iqune yiämisayä huiyinä qe änguque.*  
*ne ämaqä qokä i-qu=ne yiämisayä huiyi=nä qe ä-n-k-qäqu=i*  
 1P person man that=M=1P food other=FCS CERT ASS-eat-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'Then we men ate some other food.'

Table 14 shows the masculine and feminine form for all persons, based on the neutral demonstrative root, *i* 'that', with the personalizing clitic highlighted in the morphemic analysis. The third person forms

<sup>35</sup> The demonstrative pronoun attached to a proper name here should not be confused with a vocative which would not have the demonstrative or the personal suffix.

are, of course, those introduced earlier in Table 11. The first person clitics are recognizable as the personal pronouns from Table 8 but the second person forms are unique.

Table 14. Masculine and feminine neutral demonstratives – subject form.

	m/sing	m/dual	m/plural	f/sing.	f/dual	f/plural
first person	<i>iqun(ä)</i> <i>i=qu=n</i>	<i>iquye</i> <i>i=qu=ye</i>	<i>iqune</i> <i>i=qu=ne</i>	<i>inyä</i> <i>i=i=n</i>	<i>iuäye</i> <i>i=u=ye</i>	<i>ine</i> <i>i=u=ne</i>
second person	<i>iquki</i> <i>i=qu=ki</i>	<i>iquangu</i> <i>i=qu=angu</i>	<i>iquen(yä)</i> <i>i=qu=en</i>	<i>iki</i> <i>i=i=ki</i>	<i>iuangu</i> <i>i=u=angu</i>	<i>iuen(yä)</i> <i>i=u=en</i>
third person	<i>iqu</i> <i>i=qu</i>	<i>iquaqu</i> <i>i=qu=aqu</i>	<i>iqua</i> <i>i=qu=a</i>	<i>ii</i> <i>i=i</i>	<i>iuaqu</i> <i>i=u=aqu</i>	<i>iaa</i> <i>i=u=a</i>

### 3.1.3 Dyadic kin pronouns

The third subclass of pronouns refers to combinations of specific kin and, therefore, occurs only in dual and plural forms. They consist of the appropriate personal (1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup> persons) or demonstrative pronoun root (3<sup>rd</sup> person), a kin pronoun root specifying the relationship, and a variation of the appropriate person-number clitic (as in Table 14). There is not a kin pronoun root for every combination of kin and they do not vary according to the deictic referent – that is, ‘I and my son’ is the same as ‘I and my father’ for a male speaker since both denote the father-son relationship. The relationships for which there are dyadic pronouns are: husband/wife, parent/child as in (60), father/son, brother/brother, sister/sister, brother/sister, grandfather/grandson, grandparent/grandchild, man/parent-in-law, and man/wife’s-brother. The gender-neutral parent/child and grandparent/grandchild forms are only used when at least one female is included. The nominative forms for each dyad are given in Appendix B.2.

- 60) “*Himbäquen mayqä ipunuwiqä.*”  
*hi-mb=qu=en ma-y-qä i-p-n-uwä=i-qä*  
 2P-parent.child=M-2P NEG-go.up-DVZR do-23P/IRR-FUT-23P/DSO=IND=QT  
 ‘“You and your family will not go up.”’

The use of these pronouns is not obligatory. Thus, the referent of *qe* ‘you two’ in (61) is a man and his father-in-law so the more specific *qenaisanggi* would have been equally acceptable.

- 61) “*Qe nyaqä buayä hiki hiuqä qunyiäqä binyqä!*”  
*qe n-yaqä buayä hikä=i hiuqä w-q-n-iny-qä p-iny-qä*  
 2D 1s=POSS food stone=DEF eye 3-act-DETR-23D/IRR=GOAL come-23D/IRR=QT  
 ‘“You two come to see my ground oven!”’



As is the case with the personal and demonstrative pronouns, an emphatic pronoun phrase can be formed by the combining of a *=qä* possessive form of a kin pronoun with a *=uä* possessive form of the personal pronoun. This is not possible with kin nouns, as will be shown in 3.2.3.

- 62) *Qembangäqä*            *qeuä*    *yaqä*    *qeyqangayi*,...  
*qe-mb-angi-qä*            *qe=uä*    *yaqä*    *qe-i-q-ang-nga=ŋi*  
 2D-parent/child=2D-POSS    2D-POSS    sick    2D-do-PFV-DR=TIME=GVN  
 'Only you two (mother & daughter), when you are sick, ...'

## 3.2 Nouns

The largest word class in Menya is that of nouns. They can be possessed and modified, and they occur as the head of noun phrases. They can be divided on a morphological basis into simple, complex and kin nouns, the first being by far the largest sub-class.

### 3.2.1 Simple nouns

The simple noun stems are monomorphemic free forms and refer to a wide range of entities: abstract and concrete, common and proper. The following sample illustrates this formal simplicity and semantic variety.

- |                 |                         |               |                         |
|-----------------|-------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| 63) <i>hikä</i> | 'stone'                 | <i>aqä</i>    | 'house, village, place' |
| <i>kŋyuä</i>    | 'thought'               | <i>quuyqä</i> | 'human spirit'          |
| <i>Kapo</i>     | (the name of a village) | <i>Wapi</i>   | (the name of a river)   |

### 3.2.2 Complex noun stems

Three types of complex noun stems are distinguishable: compound stems consisting of two simple roots conjoined, derived stems consisting of a verb root (or stem) plus a derivational suffix, and a small set of stems consisting of a bound root plus what appears to be a residual noun class suffix.

#### 3.2.2.1 Compound stems

Compounding of noun roots to form complex stems is rare and coining of new compounds does not appear to be an active process. In this formation of compound stems, as opposed to the formation of compound NP heads (3.3.1.1), the nouns do not each retain their stress. For example, *yämbuayä* has stress only on the second syllable *mbua*. It would appear that in the early days of contact with the outside world, the process was productive, hence the existence of such words as *yuquakä-häkä* 'shotgun' (literally: bow-

bamboo) and *yl-hākā-tāŋä* 'policeman' (literally: arrow-bamboo-owner). However these words are now replaced by loan words from English or Tok Pisin.

Morphologically, there are two types of compounds: those that make no change to either of the parts and those which do make changes. Examples of the former, in addition to those given above, are:

- |      |           |   |              |   |   |
|------|-----------|---|--------------|---|---|
| (i)  | <i>yä</i> | + | <i>buayä</i> | → | <i>yämbuayä</i>                             |
|      | tree      | + | sweet potato |   | manioc, cassava (a shrub with edible roots) |
| (ii) | <i>yä</i> | + | <i>quwqä</i> | → | <i>yäquwqä</i>                              |
|      | tree      | + | leaf         |   | leaf of a tree                              |

In the above instances, both members of the compound are common nouns in their own rights. In the following instances, the first lexeme, *qui*, can be used alone only as an adjunct nominal (4.3.4.1) meaning 'bad, destroyed' though it is historically also the root of the adjective (*qu*)*quyqä* 'bad' that is used in (65). As will be described in 3.3, noun modifiers in Menya follow the head whereas here the head is clearly last, conforming to dominant right-headedness of Menya.

- |       |            |   |              |   |                   |
|-------|------------|---|--------------|---|-------------------|
| (iii) | <i>qui</i> | + | <i>bä</i>    | → | <i>quimbä</i>     |
|       | bad        | + | mushroom     |   | inedible mushroom |
| (iv)  | <i>qui</i> | + | <i>naŋuä</i> | → | <i>quinaŋuä</i>   |
|       | bad        |   | meat         |   | inedible insect   |

In the second type of compound noun stems, the first root is reduced<sup>36</sup> as illustrated by the following:

- |      |                 |   |                 |   |                   |
|------|-----------------|---|-----------------|---|-------------------|
| (i)  | <i>buayä</i>    | + | <i>quwäqä</i>   | → | <i>bequwäqä</i>   |
|      | sweet potato    | + | leaf            |   | sweet potato leaf |
| (ii) | <i>tasipequ</i> | + | <i>ŋguequ</i>   | → | <i>tasiŋguequ</i> |
|      | older brother   | + | younger brother |   | friend            |

### 3.2.2.2 Derived nouns

The addition of the deverbilizer *-qä* to what is here being called the verb nucleus (4.2.1) yields a form that can be used as a noun. In (64) and (65), the verb *t* 'say' is derived to form the nouns 'speaker' and

<sup>36</sup> According to Neville Bourne (personal communication), Safeyoka, the neighbouring language to the north-west, makes extensive use of compound nouns, usually dropping the class marker of the first.

'speech'. As is the case in these examples, it is generally some form of verbal phrase or even full clause that is derived rather than the verb alone, yielding a derived NP head (3.3.1.2). The details of the form and uses of deverbalization will be presented in 4.2.1 and 5.4.3.

- 64) ...*kukyuä tqä iqua moni kmaipɣqänä.*  
*kukyuä t-qä i-qu=a moni k-ma-i-p-ɣqä-nä*  
 talk say-DVZR that=M=PL money 2s-get-BEN-23P/IRR=GOAL=FCS  
 '...the adjudicators (lit: talk sayers) are sure to get money for you.'
- 65) *Hɣgi tɣe, ququyɣe.*  
*hɣgi t-qä=i ququyqä=i*  
 merely say-DVZR=DEF bad=IND  
 'Merely saying something (without evidence) is bad.'

### 3.2.2.3 Residual class markers

Some of the other Angan languages (e.g. Baruya, see Lloyd 1969) have a noun class system with recognizable class markers on the root and concord between the noun and modifying elements. No such system exists synchronically in Menya though there is residual evidence of its prior existence, most strongly in the terms referring to adult humans and their gender. (The nouns in the first column also function as modifiers to specify the gender of humans and animates generally.)

	mature adult	adult advance in age	young mature adult
female	<i>apäkä</i>	<i>apäyaɣä</i>	<i>apähueqä</i>
male	<i>qokä</i>	<i>qoyaɣä</i>	--

These words are readily recognizable as containing two morphemes but none of the morphemes are recognizable in other forms and, for most nouns, no such structure is in evidence. In the adjacent language, known as Yagwoia or Kokai, the equivalent terms for 'male' and 'female' are *qolä* and *apälä* suggesting that there was historically a shift in the form of the classifiers<sup>37</sup>.

### 3.2.3 Kin nouns

The roots for most kin terms are bound forms requiring a prefix agreeing in person (and number to a limited degree) with the person(s) to whom the referent is related ('possessor' loosely speaking). In most occurrences, the kin root also bears one or more clitics specifying the person, number and gender of the

<sup>37</sup> Yagwoia also does not have a synchronic noun class marking system; the /k/ - /l/ correspondence is not systematic throughout the vocabulary.

referent. These kin nouns constitute a closed class; a partial paradigm for each member is given in Appendix B.3. The analysis of kin nouns is complicated by a high degree of suppletion and/or allomorphic variation. For most of them, the root indicating a first-person possessor is different from that for a second or third person possessor and there is therefore no need for a prefix to indicate first person<sup>38</sup>. For example, the root for 'my/our father' is *ap-* but, for other persons, it is *-n-* with a prefix identifying the possessor. The prefix for the first person is, therefore, quite rare. Some roots consistently use singular forms regardless of the number of the 'possessor'; other roots reference number for second person possessors only. Table 15 and Table 16 show the possessor prefixes and the third-person enclitics respectively; their relatedness to the personal pronouns (Table 8) and the demonstrative gender/number clitics Table 11 is transparent. The parentheses in Table 15 reflect the limited usage of those prefixes, whereas those in Table 16 indicate variation in the form of the enclitics.

Table 15. Person-number prefixes for kin nouns

	singular	dual	plural
my/our	(n-)		
your	t-	(qe-)	(hi-)
her/his/their	k- ~ ka-		

Table 16. Kin term gender/number enclitics for 3<sup>rd</sup> person referents

	singular	plural
male	=(i)qu	=(iqu)kua ~ =äka ~ =uqua
female	=i(pa)	=(ip)aqä

The variations in the form of the person-number clitics, for both male and female relatives, show no readily-discernable pattern in their distribution. Much of the specific information about the form of kin nouns will, therefore, need to be given in the lexicon. Appendix B.3 displays the nominative (subject) form of all the kin nouns. Table 17 displays the forms of the root *ap-* ~ *-n-* 'father' where the referent is a third person.

<sup>38</sup> Reesink (1987:49) indicates that Usan also has suppletive stems based on the person of the possessor but the split there is 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> vs 3<sup>rd</sup>.

Table 17. Third person referent forms of *ap-* ~ *-n-* 'father'

	my/our	your (sing)	your (dual)	your (plural)	her/his/their
singular "father"	<i>apiqu</i> <i>ap=i-qu</i> 'my/our father'	<i>tniqu</i> <i>t-n=i-qu</i> 'your father'	<i>qeniqu</i> <i>qe-n=i-qu</i> 'you2's father'	<i>hiniqu</i> <i>hi-n=i-qu</i> 'y'all's father'	<i>kaniqu</i> <i>ka-n=i-qu</i> '3's father'
plural "fathers"	<i>ap(iq)ukua</i> <i>ap=u-kua</i> 'my/our fathers'	<i>tnuqua</i> <i>t-n=ɣu=a</i> 'your fathers'	<i>qenuqua</i> <i>qe-n=ɣu=a</i> 'you2's fathers'	<i>hinuqua</i> <i>hi-n=ɣu=a</i> 'y'all's fathers'	<i>kanuqua</i> <i>ka-n=ɣu=a</i> '3's fathers'

Where the referent is other than third person, the same clitics given in Table 14 are added, as in (66).

- 66) *Nyi hiqä hiniqu nnyuäɣiqunji.*  
*nyi hi-qä hi-n=i-qu=n nnyuäɣä=i-qu=n=ji*  
 1S 2P-POSS 2P-father-DEF=M=1S head-DEF=M=1S=IND  
 'I your father am the head (of you).'

Where the referent is indefinite, as in (67), the indefinite demonstrative root bears the gender and number enclitics.

- 67) *Nqä apä hɣqu huäqi äpākongäqe.*  
*n-qä ap hn-qu huäqi ä-päkon-q-qäqä=i*  
 1S-POSS 1<sup>st</sup>s.father INDEF=M yesterday ASS-die-PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'One of my fathers died yesterday.'

Some of the most common kin relationships, however, are encoded by simple nouns or phrases rather than kin nouns so not all kin terms are members of the kin sub-class of nouns. The most common of these are:

- 68) *qokä* 'man, male, husband'  
*apäkä* 'woman, female, wife'  
*ymeqä qokä* 'male child, son'  
*ymeqä apäkä* 'female child, daughter'

As was shown at the end of 3.1.3, the dyadic kin pronouns can function as the first member within the emphatic pronoun phrase, such as *qembangäqä qeuä* 'only you two (mother & daughter)' in example (62) given there. By contrast, the kin nouns cannot participate in that construction. Attempts to elicit such phrases, as in (69a), are corrected to (69b) in which the emphatic pronoun phrase is given in apposition to the kin noun.

- 69a) \**Ayi, apiqueqä kiuä ämätkäqe.*  
*ayä=i ap=i-qu=e-qä ki=uä ä-mät-k-qäqä=i*  
 house=DEF 1<sup>st</sup>'s.father=DEF=M=OJ=POSS 3S=POSS ASS-build-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND
- b) *Ayi, apiqu kiquä kiuä ämätkäqe.*  
*ayä=i ap=i-qu ki=qä ki=uä ä-mät-k-qäqä=i*  
 house=DEF 1<sup>st</sup>'s.father=DEF=M 3S=POSS 3S=POSS ASS-build-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'The house, my father built himself.'

### 3.3 Noun phrases

While pronouns and nouns can and frequently do stand alone and bear a function at a higher level of structure, nouns are generally modified or specified in one or more ways. The general structure of the Menya NP is given below.

NP → (possessor) (head) (qualifier) (quantifier) (determiner) (personal clitic) (role clitic)

No single element of the phrase is obligatorily present in the phrase and any element (other than the clitics) can stand alone. As is typical of verb-final languages, the possessor precedes the head whereas the role of the phrase in the higher structure is in the form of enclitics that attach to whatever is the last word of the phrase. All other elaboration, however, occurs between the head and the postpositional clitics. This includes qualifiers and quantifiers providing information about the nature of the referent plus deictic information in the form of demonstratives and gender/person/number enclitics. Each element of the noun phrase will be elaborated upon in the subsequent sections of this chapter, as the chapter will conclude with a section about coordination within the noun phrase. The following examples provide initial illustration of the ordering of the noun phrase components.

- 70) possessor head qual quant determiner  
*Neyaqä ämaqä naqä eeqänä iqua ai äwquwi.*  
*ne=yaqä ämaqä naqä eeqä=nä i-qu=a ai ä-w-q-uwä=i*  
 1P=POSS person big all=FCS that=M=PL done ASS-go-PFV-23/DSO=IND  
 'All our important men have already gone.'
- 71) poss head qual quant determiner  
*...yqä ymeqä wäyqä huiyi isuendäyi tiyä etmqe.*  
*...n-qä ymeqä wäyqä huiyi i-pu=en-tä-yi ti-yi e-t-m-yqä=i*  
 1S=POSS child small other that=DIM=2P-&=GVN this=GVN 2P-tell-1S/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 '... (you my firstborn son) and you my other small children, I'm going to tell you this.'

### 3.3.1 Head

The typical head of a noun phrase is, of course, a single noun such as *ämaqä* 'person' and *ymeqä* 'child' in the above examples. With some semantically-based restrictions, kin term nouns (72), and to a lesser extent proper nouns (73), can also fill this position and be modified.

- 72) *nyitä ḡqä amä ḡqutä ye äpäuweyi...*  
*nyi=tä n=qä amä hn-qu=tä ye ä-p-wä-ayi*  
 1s=& 1s=POSS uncle INDEF=M=& 1D ASS-come-descend-1D/DSR  
 'I and an uncle of mine, we went down and...'
- 73) *...ḡqä Akwanja ätimäkäqe.*  
*n=qä Akwanja ä-timäu-k-qäqä=i*  
 1s=POSS Akwanja ASS-arrive-PA/PFV-1s/DSO=IND  
 '... I arrived (at) my (home village) Akwanja.'

#### 3.3.1.1 Compound heads

Quite frequently, however, the head of the noun phrase is a complex of two or more nouns in which there is a progression from more general to more specific identification of the referent. This differs from the formation of compound noun stems (3.2.2.1) in that here the nouns retain their status as separate words, each retaining its own stress pattern, rather than merging into one word. The most common relationships are type-species and whole-part, both of which are illustrated in the three-noun head of (74).

- 74) type species part  
*...yä miḡlundqä huiwä ḡqu äsuätm...*  
*yä miḡlundqä huiwä hn-qu ä-su-ät-m*  
 tree species skin INDEF=M ASS-remove-SR-1s/CSR  
 '...I removed a (length) of bark from a *miḡlundqä* tree and...'

Another frequently used pattern combines the names of two or more members of a class to represent the class as a whole. In (75) the juxtaposition of *ymeqä* 'child' and *apäkä* 'woman' could mean 'female child' but in this instance (and indeed normally) the meaning for this combination is 'family'. (Note that this combining of nouns is distinct from coordination, which will be presented in 3.5, in that this NP is in turn one member of a coordination.)

- 75) ...*neqä ymeqä apäkitä*, *qoyaḡä hiyaqutä* *hiuḡä änaqämbiyi*,...  
*ne-qä ymeqä apäkä=i-tä* *qoyaḡä hn=i-aqu-tä* *hiuḡä ä-na-q-n-piyi*  
 1s=POSS child woman=DEF-& old.man INDEF=F-DL-& eye ASS-1P-act-DETR-23P/DSR  
 '...our families and two old women<sup>39</sup> saw us ...'

A third pattern, seemingly contradictory to the first, has the first noun restricting the reference of the second, which is the primary identifier of the referent. Thus in (76), the first noun refines the meaning of 'house' by specifying its purpose and in (77) the first limits the identity of the referent by specifying an activity.

- 76) *Yiä aḡä kiuiḡä* *ämätkuwi*.  
*yiä aḡä ki-uä=i-ḡä* *ä-mät-k-uwä=i*  
 dung house 3-POSS=DEF-FCS ASS-build-PA/PFV-23P/DSO=IND  
 'They built a separate toilet.'
- 77) *Apqä ämaqä qua iqi* *päkḡḡaḡḡäqä=quenyqä*  
*apqä ämaqä qua i=qi* *päk-n-q-aḡḡ-qäqä=qu=e-ḡqä*  
 song person ground that=LOC hit-DETR-PFV-DR-3S/DSO=M-OJ=GOAL  
*qayuwqä a äqätäpu* *äpmeḡuwi*  
*qayuwqä a ä-qät-ät-pu* *ä-pma-äḡ-uwä=i*  
 nettle hand ASS-hold-SR-23P/CSR ASS-sit-RPA/PFV-23P/DSO=IND  
 'They were sitting holding nettles for (any) singer who fell down.'

### 3.3.1.2 Derived heads

As was stated in 2.1, the only derivation from one word class to another is that of verb to non-verb by adding the suffix *-qä* 'DVZR' to the verb root yielding the meaning 'the act or state of \_\_\_\_'. More precisely, however, it is not the verb that is being derived but the entire clause of which the verb is the head<sup>40</sup>. Most Menya verbs are quite general in meaning, specific verbal concepts being produced by noun-verb combinations, and therefore it is difficult to find or create examples such as (78)<sup>41</sup> of a derived verb standing alone as the head of a NP. In the coordinated NP at the beginning of (79), the head of the first conjunct is a compound NP containing the derived expression *enyqä iqä* and the head of the second conjunct is the derived expression *quwä meqä*.

<sup>39</sup> It will be noted that the term for 'old man' is used even though the referent is to old women, as shown by the use of the feminine clitic on the demonstrative. In Menya ideology, gender is not as rigidly assigned as in Western culture. Women become more masculine in old age and the term for 'barren', *qoklitqä*, is a derivation of the root for 'male'.

<sup>40</sup> Since it is a clause that is being derived into a nominal function, it may be more accurate to reclassify *-qä* as a clitic; its distribution being limited to verbs would be an artefact of clauses being verb final.

<sup>41</sup> The concept of 'desire/will' in Menya is expressed by an impersonal, detransitivized form of the verb 'do'. (See 4.2.1.3)



- 78) *Ne iqueqä äwiŋgä dunä imäkatuyqe.*  
*ne i-qu=e-qä ä-w-i-n-qä n-tu-nä imäk-atu=ŋqä=i*  
 1P that=M-OJ=POSS ASS-3-do-DETR-DVZR level=LOC=FCS make-1P/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'We're going to do his will.'
- 79) *Suqä enyqä iqätä, quwä meqetä imäkämipqe,...*  
*suqä enyqä i-qä=tä quwä ma-qä=i-tä imäk-mit-p-qä=i*  
 custom laziness do-DVZR=& theft get-DVZR=DEF=& make-DUR-23P/IRR-SR/GEN=DEF  
 'If ever you keep on practicing laziness and theft, ...'

The addition of person/number/gender clitics, whether directly to the derived form or to a demonstrative root, changes the referent to 'the person doing or being \_\_\_'.

- 80) *...näŋŋqä uyqä iqu ämetuqeŋŋgutqä duŋi...*  
*näŋŋqä w-i-qä i-qu ä-e-mätuqa-q-aŋg-u-tqä n-tu=ŋi*  
 knowledge 3-do-DVZR that=M ASS-2P-show-PFV-DR-3S/IRR-DR/GEN level=LOC=GVN  
 '...in whatever the knowledge giver (=teacher) shows you...'

In the above examples, the predications that have been deverbalized are all timeless, ongoing events or states. In (81) on the other hand, the referent is identified as someone who was working at that specific time.

- 81) *Päwä imäkätqäŋuwä hŋqu qe änätma äpeyqe.*  
*päwä imäk-ätq-äŋ-uwä hn-qu qe ä-na-tma ä-p-y-q-qäqä=i*  
 power make-PRGV-IPFV-23P/DSO INDEF=M CERT ASS-1P-get ASS-come-go.up-PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'One of the men making power (operating the power station) led us up.'

It is debatable whether the embedded clause in this instance is best analyzed as the head of the clause or as a relative clause modifying a covert head, 'man'. The discussion of these options in 5.4.2.1 favours the former.

### 3.3.2 Modification

Modification, as used in this work, refers to those elements describing the nature of the referent itself. The first component, qualification, is in the form of an adjective, or an adpositional phrase describing various inherent and transient properties. The second component, quantification, provides information about the quantity and order of the referent relative to other like items. The two types of modification are presented separately because of the consistent ordering when they co-occur.

### 3.3.2.1 Qualification

The simplest form for qualification is the use of descriptive adjectives providing information such as size (82), evaluation (83) and colour (84). Any of these adjectives can be intensified by the addition of the suffix *-näŋä* as in (82).

- 82) *Ne aŋä naqänäŋä hŋqu ämätanä.*  
*ne aŋä naqä-näŋä hn-qu ä-mät-an-ä*  
 1P house big-very INDEF=M ASS-build-1P/IRR=QT  
 ' "Let's build a very large house." '

- 83) *Aŋä äunŋuä wämqänä.*  
*aŋä äunŋuä wä-m=ŋqä-nä*  
 place good lie-1S/IRR=GOAL=QT  
 ' "I'm going to lie/sleep (in) a good place." '

- 84) *Yaqueqä hiawiŋä hŋqu päkiyäl!*  
*yaqueqä hiawiŋä hn-qu päk-t-yä*  
 pig black INDEF=M kill-2S/IRR=QT  
 ' "Kill a black pig!" '

Adpositional phrases are also frequently used to identify the referent in terms of its location (85), purpose (86), etc.

- 85) *Aŋä yäpä iqäm-qu<sup>42</sup> ganä ämätkuwi.*  
*aŋä yäpä i-qä=m-qu ganä ä-mät-k-uwä=i*  
 house inner that=LOC=far=M first ASS-build-PA/PFV-23P/DSO=IND  
 'They first built the inner house.'
- 86) *Si nätmatqä näŋqä maŋqä isuaunŋä äwa itn,...*  
*si nätmatqä n=ŋqä ma=ŋqä i=pu=a=u=ŋqä äwa i-ät-n*  
 2s thing eat=GOAL get=GOAL that=DIM=PL=OJ=GOAL lack do-SR-2S/CSR  
 'You will lack the things for getting food, ...'

Though sentences with more than one qualification component in a single NP can be understood and accepted, no instances have been encountered in spontaneous language use.

### 3.3.2.2 Quantification

The quantification component provides information relative to other members of a larger group of similar items. It therefore includes quantifiers equivalent to 'all' (88) and 'many' and also ordinal information such as 'first' and 'last' (87). As will be shown in the next section, cardinal numbers are traditionally encoded using demonstrative specification.

<sup>42</sup> The reason for the clitic marker in the first line is given in the discussion prior to (105).

- 87) ...*buayä häyä yäpaki ämetan*,...  
*buayä häyä yäpakä=i ä-ma-ät-an*  
 sweet.potato fresh last=DEF ass-get-SR-1P/CSR  
 'we got the last of the sweet potato and ...'
- 88) *Nätmatqä eeqäpnä äuyguänä äyä hetaygañi*,...  
*nätmatqä eeqä=pu=nä äuyguä=nä äyä h-e-ät-ayg=yga=ñi*  
 thing all=DIM=FCS well=FCS just NEU-become-IPFV-DR=TIME=GVN  
 'When everything was well (ready), ...'

### 3.3.3 Specification

Further identification of the referent is given in the form of a deictic component pointing to the physical or textual location of the referent relative to the speech act, and specification of an entity (normally animate) who/which owns or is in some other way associated with the referent, loosely called 'possession'.

#### 3.3.3.1 Demonstrative

The deictic component is based on any of the roots for the demonstrative pronouns (see Table 10 in section 3.1.2). The use of *nä* and *i* alone as pronouns with very general reference was introduced in that section. The elevational demonstratives in Table 18 are formed by the addition of a clitic (=e or =ti) to one of the elevational roots (*n*, *yä* or *m*), which are also the root for numerous locatives (3.4.2). The (morpho-) phonological processes whereby *n* + =ti → *dä* and *m* + =ti → *bi* are not unique to the present context but also apply with other locative clitics (again, see 3.4.2). The oddity here is that the form *bi* appears to be a case of diachronic reanalysis in that it is formed with the 'far' morpheme =ti but has the meaning 'mid-distance' and an anomalous form *mu* has become the 'far below' variant.

Table 18. Non-personal demonstratives

		near	mid =e	far =ti
neutral		<i>tä</i>	<i>i</i>	
level	<i>n</i>		<i>ne</i>	<i>dä</i>
above	<i>yä</i>		<i>ye</i>	<i>yäti</i>
below	<i>m</i>		<i>me/bi</i>	<i>mu</i>

These demonstratives, including the two neutral forms, are used as the last component of a noun phrase to 'point to' the location of its referent when that referent is non-human or its humanity is not significant at that point of the communication. With the exception of *di* however, the elevational forms have only rarely been observed in spontaneous usage as opposed to their appearance in elicitation sessions, and only in a spatial deictic sense (89); the referent needs to be in sight of the speaker and hearer for appropriate usage.

- 89) *Ayā yāti nyaqe.*  
*ayā yā=ti n=yaqā=i*  
 house up=far 1s-POSS=IND  
 'That house up there is mine'

The 'far-level' form *di* is frequently used in a non-spatial sense, especially at the end of an NP containing an embedded clause (90).

- 90) *Āmaqā yandqā tāyā di qāuyqā ipu,...*  
*āmaqā yandqā tāyā n=ti qāuyqā i-āt-pu*  
 person scabies have level=far search do-SR-23P/CSR  
 'Those people with scabies were searching and...'

When the neutral demonstrative *i* 'that' is used alone as the deictic component in a NP, it cliticizes to the preceding word and is semantically equivalent to the definite article in English, whether in reference to specific instances of an object designated by a noun (91) or to the entire class of objects designated by it (92). In these instances it is glossed as 'DEF' rather than 'that' even though it is recognized as being the same morpheme.

- 91) *...buayā hāyā yāpaki āmetan,...*  
*buayā hāyā yāpakā=i ā-ma-āt-an*  
 sweet.potato fresh last=DEF ASS-get-SR-1P/CSR  
 '...we got the last of the sweet potato and ...'
- 92) *Ākewi yyyā naqā hmanji.*  
*ākewā=i yyyā naqā hma=nji*  
 bird.sp=DEF bird big not=IND  
 'The *ākewā* is not a large bird.'

Note that in this cliticization process, the *ā*-elision and *i*-lowering processes apply just as they do with the indicative mood clitic, =*i* (2.2.1). This use of *i* 'that' is the normal form of identification for an NP that is definite and non-human but it can also be used with human referents when they are not significant

characters in the text (93). In this example, a father is giving instructions to his son and daughter-in-law just after their marriage about appropriate behaviour. Among these instructions is this exhortation to pass these instructions on to their children who will in turn pass them on to theirs.

- 93) ...*qe qeqä ymeqeu ämotuqayäqqänä.*  
*qe qe=qä ymeqä=i-u ä-w-mätuqa-iny-qqä=nä*  
 2D 2D=POSS child=DEF=LOC ASS-3-show-23D/IRR=GOAL=FCS  
 '... you two are going to teach your children.'

Far more frequently with human referents, however, the demonstrative root bears the appropriate person/number/gender clitics that were introduced in Table 11 and Table 14. Effectively, therefore, the demonstrative personal forms (3.1.2) function both as pronouns replacing NPs and as the demonstrative element at the end of NPs. The examples already given in this section on NPs have illustrated a variety of these demonstratives. Examples (19) and (20) are repeated here showing third person and second person demonstratives, respectively.

- 94) *Neyaqä ämaqä naqä eeqänä iqua ai äwquwi.*  
*ne=yaqä ämaqä naqä eeqä=nä i-qu-a ai ä-w-q-uwä-i*  
 1P=POSS person big all-FCS that=M=PL done ASS-go-PFV-23P/DSO=IND  
 'All our important men have already gone.'
- 95) *Nqä ymeqä hitmqä iqukitä qqä ymeqä wäqqä huiyi*  
*n-qä ymeqä hitmqä i-qu-k-tä n-qä ymeqä wäqqä huiyi*  
 1s=POSS child eldest that=M=2s-& 1s=POSS child small other  
*isuendäyi tiqä etmqe.*  
*i-pu-en-tä-yi ti-yi e-t-m=qqä-i*  
 that=DIM=2P-&=GVN this=GVN 2P-tell-1s/ISS=GOAL=IND  
 'You my firstborn son and you my other small children, I'm going to tell you this.'

Quantification (3.3.2.2) includes ordinal concepts such as 'first' and 'last'. Cardinal number information, however, is provided using the demonstratives in a traditional two-based system, up to nine, using whichever demonstrative root is appropriate. That is, 'four' is 'two two', 'seven' is 'two two two one', etc. The numbers one through four using the indefinite root are listed below and are still regularly used, as in (96). The numbers 'five' and 'ten' are expressed by NPs making reference to hands and the numbers 'eleven' through 'nineteen' by reference to hands and feet.

<i>hyqu</i>	'one'
<i>hyquaqu</i>	'two'
<i>hyquaqu hyque</i>	'three (literally two one)'
<i>hyquaqui hyquaqui</i>	'four (literally two two)'
<i>hipa hygi eeqä</i>	'five (lit: all the hand on one side)'
<i>hipa hygi hygi eeqä</i>	'ten (lit: all the hand on both sides)'
<i>hipa eeqä sukä bugi hyquaqu</i>	'twelve (lit: all the hand (and ) two on the feet below)'

- 96) ...*iqu hia hyquaqui hyquaqui äwäkäqäqe.*  
*i-qu hia hn-qu-aqu=i hn-qu-aqu=i ä-wä-k-qäqä=i*  
 that=M night INDEF=M=DL=OJ INDEF=M=DL=OJ ASS-lic-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 '... he slept (there) four nights (=stayed four days).'

Visual motions often accompany counting by this traditional system. Starting with the thumb of the left hand, the finger tips are brought together for numbers one through five. Six through ten would add the finger tips of the right hand to the clustered tips of the left, again starting with the thumb and ending with all ten finger tips together. People seated while counting beyond ten have been observed to touch the clustered fingers to the required number of toes.

More recently, however, these traditional numbers are falling out of use and are being replaced with numbers borrowed from English via Tok Pisin. Not only are the forms borrowed, however, but so is their pre-head position, effectively creating a new phrase structure or head type. The following example contains two such instances with the full phrase highlighted.

- 97) *Tuendi kina qenji -- ipeqätänä nyi paipä kinä hui*  
*tuendi kinä qe-nji i-pa=e-qä-tä-nä nyi paipä kinä hn=i*  
 twenty kina CERT=IND that=HON=OJ=POSS=&=FCS 1s five kina INDEF=F  
*ämamiqetänä.*  
*ä-ma-miq-qäqä=i-tä-nä*  
 ASS-have-PA/IPFV-1S/DSO=DEF=&=FCS  
 'There was twenty kina – hers plus the five kina I had.'

### 3.3.3.2 Possessive

Possession is the only element of the NP which precedes the head noun. It takes the form of any NP or pronoun marked with one of the three possessive enclitics introduced in 3.1. Several examples given earlier in this NP section have illustrated the use of possessive pronouns, beginning with (70) to (73). The following examples show NPs of increasing complexity in the possessive role, including recursive possession in (99).

- 98) ...*hikḡä hḡqueä*      *ayä iqi*      *äpmen*      *quea ätätan...*  
*hikḡä hn=qu=e-uä*      *ayä i=qi*      *ä-pma-an*      *quea ä-t-ät-an*  
lad INDEF=M-OJ=POSS house that=LOC ASS-be-1P/CSR story ASS-say-SR-1P/CSR  
‘...we were in the house of one of the young men and telling stories...’
- 99) I *nyaqä awiqueqä*      *wäuyä quai.*  
*i n=yaqä aw=i-qu=e-qä*      *wäuyä qua=i*  
that 1S=POSS ancestor=DEF=M-OJ=POSS garden ground=DEF  
‘That is my grandfather’s garden plot.’
- 100) ...*häyesqä im im<sup>43</sup> äpmakuwoḡuwä*      *iquauqä*      *aquyä*  
*häyesqä i=m i=m ä-pmakuwo<sup>44</sup>-äḡ-uwä*      *i-qu=a-u=qä*      *aquyä*  
red that=far that=far ASS-converge-IPFV-23P/DSO that=M=PL-OJ=POSS join  
*qḡqäḡga...*  
*q-n-qä-ḡga*  
do-DETR-DVZR=TIME  
‘...at the gathering time of Europeans (lit. red) who were from various far away places...’

Though the possessor precedes the head by default and in almost every instance, this is not invariable. In the following instance, the author is relating how the making of the men’s traditional grass skirt was passed down to his generation and that they haven’t abandoned the technique but have passed it on to their sons.

- 101) ...*täḡgaḡi ymeqä neyaqä quau mäḡgi, ne e ämuätuqetqäḡu.*  
*tä-ḡga-ḡi ymeqä ne=yaqä qu=a-u m=ḡgi ne e ä-w-mätuqa-ätq-äḡ-u*  
this=TIME-GVN child 1P=POSS M=PL-OJ below=LOC 1P thus ASS-3-show-PRGV-IPFV-1P/ASO  
‘...today, we are teaching this to our children, in turn.’

### 3.3.3.3 Personalizing clitics

The clitics (Table 11 and Table 14) which identify the gender, number and person of the referent occur on demonstrative pronouns (3.1.2), kinship pronouns (3.1.3), kin terms (3.2.3), and demonstratives within the NP (3.3.3.1). All that remains to be added here is that whereas the above contexts cover most instances of their usage, they can also be used with NPs without a demonstrative. In (102), the clitic is attached to an intensified modifier, in (103) to a proper name, and in (104) to an inflected verb form.

<sup>43</sup> The repetition of a demonstrative has a distributive function, in this instance effectively meaning ‘each from his own far away place.’

<sup>44</sup> This verb stem is clearly either a compound or derivative of the root *pma* ‘be’ but the second part has not been identified.

- 102) *Iyiyqe tqä tniqun ämotuqeä kiŋganäŋäqun*  
*i=ŋi-ŋqä=e t-qä t-n=i-qu=n ä-w-mätuqa-qä kiŋga-näŋä-qu=n*  
 that=GVN=GOAL=DEF 2S=POSS 2S-father=DEF=M=1S ASS-3-show-DVZR before-very=M=1S

*eäm,...*

*e-m*

*be-1S/CSR*

'Therefore, I, being your father and first teacher,...'

- 103) *Si täŋgaŋi Matiukl apäkä äyä ämenä.*  
*si tä-ŋga=ŋi Matiu=ki apäkä äyä ä-ma-q-n*  
 2S this=TIME=GVN Matthew=2S woman just ASS-get-PFV-2S/ASO

'Today, you Matthew have just taken a wife.'

- 104) *Haqä yätu ämänäquatäqäqune, qe äpeyque.*  
*haqä yä-tu ä-na-mäquat-q-qäqä-qu=ne qe ä-p-y-q-qäqu=i*  
 above up=LOC ASS-2P-bring-PFV-3S/DSO=M=1P CERT ASS-come-go.up-PFV-1P/DSO=IND

'Those of us who were brought up above, went up.'

In such circumstances, and especially when the preceding word is a verb (105) or a locative used as a modifier (106), the encliticization does not as clearly take place. The evidence for this is that some speakers will separate them in either dictation-speed pronunciation or in writing. This is probably an instance of an incomplete diachronic process, with pressure to avoid the combining of varied morpheme types (verbal affixes or locative clitics with nominal clitics) either hindering the completion of the cliticization process or else starting a decliticization process.

- 105) *"Qämakä äpäsäqäqu qu, äpäsätanä..."*  
*qämakä ä-päk-q-qäqu qu ä-päk-ät-an*  
 snake ASS-kill-PFV-1P/DSO M ASS-kill-SR-1P/CSR

'"The snake which we killed, we killed it and..."'

- 106) *...aŋä yäpeqämä qu ganä ämätkuwi.*  
*aŋä yäpā-i-qā=m qu ga-nä ä-mät-k-uwā-i*  
 house inside=DEF=LOC=far M TIME=FCS ASS-build-PA/PFV-23P/DSO=IND

'...they built the inner house first.'

### 3.3.4 Ellipsis within the NP

None of the elements in the NP formula (3.3) are obligatorily present, and any of the elements can stand alone. The following examples illustrate each of possessor, qualifier and quantifier standing as head of the NP where the noun has been omitted but is readily identifiable in the context. Examples of nouns alone were given in 3.3.1 and, as has been stated, the demonstrative alone serves regularly as a pronoun.



- 107) ...*Āmaqiyyā dī quwā āmamā' kḥḥuā kiyāniqe.*  
*āmaqā=i-qā n=ti quwā ā-ma-m kḥḥuā k-i-ā-ni-qāqā=i*  
 person=OJ=POSS level-far theft ASS-get-1s/IRR thought 2s-do-3s/IRR-FUT-3s/DSO=IND  
 '...the thought will come to you, "I can steal another person's".'
- 108) ...*tqā tnapqa isuaütā tqā tuḡguesāḡi,*  
*t-qā t-nap=aqā i=pu-a=u=tā t-qā t-ḡgua=qu=e=tā=ḡi*  
 2s=POSS 2s-yng. sis=F/PL that=DIM=PL=OJ=& 2s=POSS 2s-yng. bro=M=OJ=&=GVN  
*naqā sua eqaḡḡuwāḡḡaḡi,...*  
*naqā pu=a e-q-aḡḡ-uwā-ḡḡa=ḡi*  
 big DIM=PL become-PFV-DR-23P/DSO=TIME=GVN  
 '...your younger sisters and brother, when they've become big ones, ...'
- 109) ...*eeqānāḡā isua qāyunā āmānātuqeqe,...*  
*eeqā-nāḡā i=pu-a qāyu=nā ā-na-mātuqa-āqe*  
 all-very that=DIM=PL correct=FCS ASS-1p-show-3s/DSR  
 '...he showed us everything correctly,...'

### 3.4 Role specification (case-marking clitics)

The role of a noun phrase is indicated primarily by one or more enclitics which attach to whatever is the last word in the phrase. In the presentation of pronouns, 3.1, it was stated that the personal pronouns were the same for both subject and object roles whereas the demonstrative personal pronouns bear a clitic in the shape of a vowel to indicate a non-subject role. Since those same demonstrative pronouns are used as the final potential element in the NP, the same distinction applies: where a demonstrative personal pronoun is used, subject and object roles can and usually are distinguished by the presence of an extra vowel. In this section, the other case-marking clitics will be presented. The organization will be based primarily on common semantic domains. Section 3.4.2, for example, will present a variety of clitics that mark an argument as specifying the location of the situation predicated. Where a single clitic functions in what would normally be considered distinct domains, there will be a single section, recognizing the unity encoded in the language. Section 3.4.3, therefore, presents a range of semantic domains (destination, purpose, beneficiary, etc) that are all encoded by a single clitic.

#### 3.4.1 Time

Two types of time arguments can be recognized in a sentence – those positioning the situation in time and those elaborating the nature of the situation through the time of its existence. This difference is comparable to that between tense and aspect. The latter of these are not case-marked but function within the verbal phrase as adverbials (see 4.3.2).

There is a small group of lexemes that have temporal meaning and are here considered a sub-class of nouns. These include the following as well as loan words for the days and months:

<i>huäqi</i>	yesterday
<i>hiunji</i>	daytime
<i>hia</i>	nighttime

A similar group of words are compounds or derivatives but the etymology is not always clear.

<i>yähiqutä</i>	morning ~ tomorrow <sup>45</sup>	compound of <i>yä</i> 'light' and <i>hiuqä</i> 'eye'
<i>awiyqä</i>	afternoon	derived from <i>awä</i> 'middle'
<i>quaisqä</i>	pre-dawn	compound of <i>qua</i> 'ground' and <i>iisqä</i> 'cold'
<i>hiaiä</i>	dusk ~ afternoon	derived from <i>hia</i> 'nighttime'
<i>hiatqä</i>	evening	derived from <i>hia</i> 'nighttime'
<i>qänakndayä</i>	later, after	derived from <i>qänaki</i> 'follow'
<i>hiŋŋuiqä</i>	before	possibly derived from <i>hiuqä</i> 'eye'

Those referring to a fixed time reference (such as *hiunji* 'day' and *hiatqä* 'evening') exhibit more noun properties than those with a relative meaning (such as *huäqi* 'yesterday' and *hiŋŋuiqä* 'before') in that they can be counted or modified by the reduplication of the demonstrative *ique* to indicate all-inclusiveness, as in *hia ique ique* 'every night, always'.

The largest group of time words, however, are formed using the enclitic *=ŋga* 'time'. Some such words are so long-established that they have achieved lexical status.

<i>täŋga</i>	today, now	derived from <i>tä</i> 'this'
<i>iŋga</i>	then	derived from <i>i</i> 'that'
<i>hŋga</i>	sometime	derived from <i>*hn</i> 'indefinite'
<i>qäŋga</i>	long ago	derived from <i>*qä</i> 'the very one'
<i>äkŋga</i>	when	derived from <i>*äk</i> 'which'
<i>asäŋga</i>	same time	derived from <i>*ak</i> 'same'
<i>aiŋga</i>	long ago	derived from <i>ai</i> 'done'
<i>kiŋga</i>	first, long ago	possibly derived from <i>kiŋä</i> 'far'
<i>häŋäŋga</i>	first of several	derived from <i>häŋä</i> 'new'
<i>hiunjiŋga</i>	midday	derived from <i>hiunji</i> 'daytime'
<i>awiŋga</i>	tomorrow	derived from <i>awä</i> 'middle'

<sup>45</sup> The variation in meanings is primarily dialectal, with 'tomorrow' being the preferred meaning in the *Tepatiqä* (Western) area.

As the last two words in this list show, *=yga* can be added to temporal nouns as well as to the demonstrative roots. It can also be added to common nouns where semantics permit, as in (110) and (111).

- 110) *Iqua mākāṅgayi māki huiuta mauṅqä quai.*  
*i-qu=a mākā=yga=yi mākā=i hn=i-u=ta ma-u-n-qä qu=a=i*  
 that=M-PL fight=TIME=GVN fight=DEF INDEF=F=LOC=SRC NEG-shoot-DETR-DVZR M=PL=IND  
 'In the time of fighting, men were not ones who fought each other for just any reason.'
- 111) *Matiuki, si, hikṅāyga ikitqäyi.*  
*Matiu=ki si hikṅā=yga ikä-ätq-äṅ-yä=i*  
 Matthew=2S 2S lad=TIME tour-PRGV-IPFV-2S/DSO=IND  
 'Matthew, you used to wander around as a youth.'

The same clitic, *=yga*, will be seen in the formation of the most common different-referent medials

4.2.4.1 and this usage, as in (112) accounts for the vast majority of occurrences of this clitic.

- 112) *Qu ti ätimäuqayga, iqu ti ätukäqe.*  
*qu ti ä-timäu-q-ayg=yga i-qu ti ä-w-t-k-qäqä=i*  
 3P thus ASS-arrive-PFV-DR=TIME that=M thus ASS-3-tell-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'They thus arrived, then he told them this.'

### 3.4.2 Location

As is the case for time, two kinds of location arguments need to be recognized. In this case, the difference is between peripheral and core locative arguments. The former can occur in any predication identifying the location at which the situation takes/took place, whereas the potential existence of the latter is specified in the case frame of the verb used in the predication. Thus, in the sentence *He shot him in the arm in the forest* the first locative phrase, *in the arm*, is sanctioned as part of the case frame because to shoot a person implies that a part of that person's anatomy was hit. The second locative phrase, *in the forest*, specifies the location where the act of shooting occurred.<sup>46</sup>

As the above English example illustrates, the two types of locative arguments are not necessarily different in form and Menya, like English, does not differentiate. Most of the following examples of locatives are of the core variety and are clearly within the clause. Peripheral locatives are frequently relevant to a complex of clauses and therefore occur at the boundary of, if not outside of, any single clause.

<sup>46</sup> There are instances where the distinction is not clear. For example, an existential statement may or may not include specification of a relevant location but such a location could be both part of the case frame for the existential verb and at the same time the locale for the whole predication.

There are numerous locative clitics in Menya differing in the nature of the locale they specify, but not all clearly delineated hence the three forms with the more general 'at a specified location' meaning.

= <i>m</i>	at a distant location and/or unseen from a point of reference
= <i>ɣgi</i>	at a location somewhat beyond the speaker but within sight
= <i>ɣgisa</i>	in a region adjacent to a reference point
= <i>ɣi</i>	at the specified location (extended to use as a givenness marker)
= <i>ɣisa</i>	within a region
= <i>qi</i> ~ = <i>qä</i>	at the specified location
= <i>tqä</i>	at a very specific location <sup>47</sup>
= <i>tu</i>	at the specified location
= <i>u</i>	within a range or area that includes the specified location; path along which a motion takes place

These clitics attach to any nominal expression that refers to a physical location. Most frequently they attach to one of the demonstrative roots (Table 10) to form locative words which can either stand alone as locative pronouns (113) or occur at the end of a NP as postpositions (114). It is in these locative words that the elevational demonstratives are used extensively. Table 19 displays the resultant forms, most of which are attested in the texts that are currently prepared for the concordance programme. The question marks indicate the need to further verify whether the form would be acceptable.

Table 19. Locative words based on the demonstrative roots.

	<i>tä</i> 'this'	<i>i</i> 'that'	<i>m</i> 'below'	<i>n</i> 'level'	<i>yä</i> 'above'
= <i>m</i>	<i>täm</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>mäm</i>	<i>näm</i>	<i>yäm</i>
= <i>ɣgi</i>	<i>täɣgi</i>	<i>iɣgi</i>	<i>mäɣgi</i>	<i>näɣgi</i>	<i>yäɣgi</i>
= <i>ɣgisa</i>	<i>täɣgisa</i>	<i>iɣgisa</i>	<i>mäɣgisa</i>	<i>näɣgisa</i>	<i>yäɣgisa</i>
= <i>ɣi</i>	<i>täɣi</i>	<i>iɣi</i>	<i>mäɣi</i>	<i>näɣi</i>	<i>yäɣi</i>
= <i>ɣisa</i>	?	?	<i>mäɣisa</i>	<i>näɣisa</i>	<i>yäɣisa</i>
= <i>qi</i> ~ = <i>qä</i> <sup>48</sup>	<i>täqi</i>	<i>iqi</i> ~ <i>iqä</i>	?	?	<i>yäqi</i> ~ <i>yeqi</i>
= <i>tu</i>	--	--	<i>bu</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>yätu</i>
= <i>u</i>	<i>täu</i>	<i>iu</i>	--	--	--

<sup>47</sup> This is almost certainly the same morpheme found in the word *hiatqä* 'evening' (derived from *hia* 'nighttime') in the previous section. It can also be added to some of the other temporal expressions yielding, for example, *aiɣgatqä* 'long ago' which is considered synonymous with the base form.

<sup>48</sup> The =*qä* variant only occurs with the neutral root *i* where it is in free variation with the more common =*qi*.

- 113) *Tä äwinyuäkiyāta* *iqi äpmamiñuee...*  
*tä ä-w-i-nyuäk-i-ät-a* *i=qi ä-pma-miñ-ueä=i*  
 wood ASS-3-do-split-BEN-SR-1D/CSR that=LOC ASS-be-PA/IPFV-1D/DSO=IND  
 'We2 remained there splitting firewood,...'
- 114) *Yeqä aḡä bu hiqaqä äwäkuee...*  
*ye=qä aḡä m-tu hiqaqä ä-wä-k-ueä=i*  
 1D=POSS place down=LOC sleep ASS-lie-PA/PFV-1D/DSO=DEF  
 '(After) we2 slept at our house, ...'

In (115), the nominal is a medial clause that has been nominalized by the 'definite' clitic =*i*, which was described in 3.3.3.1 as a variant of the demonstrative 'that'. Rarely, as in (116), a locative clitic attaches directly to a preceding noun where no demonstrative is needed.

- 115) *Āmaqä hyqu pmetangäqeu* *qe änäquatmäuge.*  
*āmaqä hn-qu pma-ät-aḡg-qäqä=i-u* *qe ä-na-quat-mäu-q-qäqä=i*  
 person INDEF=M be-IPFV-DR-3s/DSO=DEF=LOC CERT ASS-1P-deliver-go-PFV-3s/DSO=IND  
 'He left us where a man was sitting.'
- 116) *Iqueqä ae, quikuäḡgisani, häḡesqe.*  
*i-qu=e-qä a=i quikuä-ḡgis-a=ḡi häḡesqä=i*  
 that=M-OJ=POSS feather=DEF chest=side=GVN red=IND  
 'Its feathers, on the breast, are red.'

Place names can be used with a locative function without a locative clitic, especially if the place is known to the addressee. This is the case in (117), which was spoken to a pilot when asking for a ride.

- 117) "Nyi Hanjuwä äḡquatmä *huisḡqeqä.*"  
*nyi Hanjuwä ä-n-quat-mä h-y-t-ḡqä=i-qä*  
 1s Hanjuwa ASS-1s-deliver-SER/SEM IRR-go.up-2s/IRR=GOAL=IND=QT  
 'Deliver me (at) Hanjuwa and go on up.'

There are also a small set of locative words which generally co-occur with a nominal to indicate a location that is relative to the nominal. Some of these locatives are:

<i>atäuqä</i>	on top of	<i>awä</i>	middle
<i>haqä</i>	above	<i>kiḡä</i>	afar
<i>mända</i>	beyond	<i>qäqä</i>	near
<i>yäpaqä</i>	outside	<i>yäpä</i>	inside, under

These words are followed by one of the demonstrative-based postpositions already illustrated in this section. However, there is not always an overt noun before the locative word (120), and in some instances the locative word is possessed (121), leading to the classification of these locatives as (perhaps defective) nouns.

- 118) *Neqä yuquayi, ne balusi aṇä yäpä yängisa ekuque.*  
*ne=qä yuquayä=i ne balusi aṇä yäpä yä=ṇgisa e-k-qäqu=i*  
 1P-POSS cargo=DEF 1P plane place inside up=side put-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'We placed our cargo inside the plane.'
- 119) ...*akuäqä häkä haqä iqä qe äktäyuekuque.*  
*akuäqä häkä haqä i=qä qe ä-ktäyue-k-qäqu=i*  
 pandanus new.leaf above that=LOC CERT ASS-put-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 '...we put (them) on top of the new leaves of the pandanus palm.'
- 120) *Yä aṇä ḥṇqu haqä yäṇi mätaṇqunä.*  
*yä aṇä ḥn-qu haqä yä=ṇi mät-an=ṇqä-u=nä*  
 tree house INDEF=M above up=LOC build-1P/IRR=GOAL-1P/ASO=FCS  
 'We must build a wooden house on top.'
- 121) *Iqu neyaqä awä iqi qe ätqäüqe.*  
*i-qu ne=yaqä awä i=qi qe ä-tqäü-q-qäqä=i*  
 that=M 1P-POSS middle that=LOC CERT ASS-stand-PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'He stood in our midst.'

### 3.4.3 Goal

This section will present the various uses of a single clitic =*ṇqä* which is glossed as 'GOAL' and indicates an entity to which the predicated situation is directed in one of several ways. It corresponds to many of the uses of the English prepositions *to*, *for* and *about*. Probably the most basic and certainly the most common use of =*ṇqä* is to indicate the destination of a predication involving motion. On the basis of i) this distinction between the basic use and the extended uses and ii) the fact that an extended use can co-occur with the destination use in a motion clause, two cases are recognized and are here presented as the destination (3.4.3.1) and the goal (3.4.3.2).

#### 3.4.3.1 Destination

In this function, the clitic is normally attached to one of the locative elements (3.4.2), such as a place name (122), a possessed NP (123), or a locative phrase (124). Where the destination is a person rather than a place, there will not be a locative element, as in (125).

- 122) *Ne aṇä yäṇisaṇi, Womäquaṇqä äpäukuque.*  
*ne aṇä yä=ṇi-ta=ṇi Womäquaṇqä=ṇqä ä-p-w-k-qäqu=i*  
 1P village up=LOC-ORIG=GVN Kapo=GOAL ASS-come-go-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'From up at (our) village, we journeyed to Kapo.'

- 123) ...*neqä aṇä iuṇqä qe äuwekuque.*  
*ne=qä aṇä i=u=ṇqä qe ä-we-k-qäqu=i*  
 1P=POSS house that=LOC=GOAL CERT ASS-disperse-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 '...we dispersed to our houses.'
- 124) "*Ne haqä yäṇḡisaṇqä äyatuyqueqä.*"  
*ne haqä yä=ṇḡisa=ṇqä ä-y-atu=ṇqä=i-qä*  
 1P above up=side=GOAL ASS-go.up-1P/IRR=GOAL=IND=QT  
 '“We're going to go up above (from underground).”'
- 125) *Tqä tniquenyqä u!*  
*t=qä t-n=i-qu=e=ṇqä w*  
 2S=POSS 2S-father=DEF=M=OJ=GOAL go  
 'Go to your father!'

### 3.4.3.2 Goal

In its other functions, =*ṇqä* attaches directly to any nominal element without the locative clitic intervening. In each case, the predicated action is performed with the referent of the marked NP in mind as potentially affected by the action. The range of uses include at least the following meanings.

Topic of conversation:

- 126) *Nyi yṇṇä amäṇqä kukṇuä tmqe.*  
*nyi yṇṇä amä=ṇqä kukṇuä t-m=ṇqä=i*  
 1S bird amä=GOAL talk say-1S/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'I am going to talk about the *amä* bird.'

Intended object:

- 127) *Nyi yaqueqäṇqä yi äukäqe.*  
*nyi yaqueqä=i=ṇqä yi ä-u-k-qäqä=i*  
 1S pig=DEF=GOAL arrow ASS-shoot-PA/PFV-1S/DSO=IND  
 'I shot at the pig (uncertain as to whether the pig was hit).'

Purpose:

- 128) ...*ne ḡṇqune hiyqäṇqä qe äpeyuque.*  
*ne ḡṇ=qu=ne hiyqä=ṇqä qe ä-p-y-q-qäqu=i*  
 1P INDEF=M=1P urine=GOAL CERT ASS-come-go.up-PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 '...some of us went up to urinate (literally for urine).'

Object of a search or wait:

- 129) ...*iqu balusiṇqä hiuṇä äqunä äpmamiṇqe.*  
*i=qu balusi=i=ṇqä hiuṇä ä-w-q-n-ä ä-pma-miṇ-qäqä=i*  
 that=M plane=DEF=GOAL eye ASS-3-act-DETR-3S/CSR ASS-be-PA/IPFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 '...he waited (literally 'sat looking') for the plane.'

## Object of desire:

- 130) "Nyi apākāḡqā nyiḡgaḡḡyqā,"                      ātukāqe.  
 nyi apākā=ḡqā n-i-n-q-aḡḡ-i=yqā                      ā-w-t-k-qāqā-i  
 1s woman=GOAL 1s-do-DETR-PFV-DR-3s/ASO-QT ASS-3-tell-PA/PFV-3s/DSO=IND  
 '“I want a woman” he told them.'

## Object of an emotion:

- 131) ...nyi sinyqā wiuāḡqānāḡā ātāqāqā                      diḡqā...  
 nyi si=ḡqā wiuāḡqā-nāḡā ā-t-q-qāqā                      n=ti=ḡqā  
 1s 2s=GOAL anger-very                      ASS-say-PFV-1s/DSO level=there=GOAL  
 '...about (the fact that) I was angry at you.'

## Beneficiary or maleficiary:

- 132) Apqā āmaqā qua iqi pākḡgaḡḡqā=quenyqā  
 apqā āmaqā qua i=qi pāk-n-q-aḡḡ-qāqā=qu-e=ḡqā  
 song person ground that=LOC hit-DETR-PFV-DR-3s/DSO=M-OJ=GOAL  
 qayuwqā a āqātāpu                      āpmeḡuwi.  
 qayuwqā a ā-qāt-āt-pu                      ā-pma-āḡ-uwā=i  
 nettle hand ASS-hold-SR-23P/CSR ASS-sit-RPA/PFV-23P/DSO=IND  
 'They were sitting holding nettles for (any) singer who fell down.'

The labels for these different uses are derived from the meaning of the verb and participants involved in the predication as an aid to understanding the meaning of the examples. However, they are considered here to be variants of a single case role – the goal. Significantly, no instances have been encountered in spontaneous usage or accepted in elicitation sessions in which two NPs can occur marked as referent in a single clause unless they are coordinated and have the same meaning interpretation as in (133).

- 133) Iqu pāḡḡyqāiā guāḡqāiā hiuḡā qunātyqe...  
 i=qu pāḡḡ-ḡqā=iā guā=ḡqā=iā hiuḡā w-q-n-āt-ḡqā=i  
 that=M betel=GOAL& vine=GOAL& eye 3-act-DETR-3s/IRR=GOAL=DEF  
 'He (went up to the forest) to look for betel nut and vines.'

Two NPs marked with =ḡqā and different role meanings can occur in a single clause only if the verb implies motion and one of the NPs is the destination. This is also the case when both the NPs marked with =ḡqā have human referents as in (135)<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> This example was supplied as the translation for the English given here as the meaning of the sentence. In natural speech, some of the NPs would be omitted as redundant and/or the information would have been split between two clauses.



- 134) Destination Purpose  
*...yeqä aḡiuyqä hiqaqäḡqä äukuee.*  
*ye=qä ayä=i=uḡqä hiqaqä=ḡqä ä-w-k-ueä=i*  
 1D=POSS house=DEF=LOC=GOAL sleep=GOAL ASS-go-PA/PFV-1D/DSO=IND  
 '...we went to our house to sleep.'
- 135) S O Referent Destination  
*Iqu nyi sinyqä duta iquenyqä änändowqatäqi.*  
*i=qu nyi si=ḡqä duta i=qu=e=ḡqä ä-n-dowqat-q-i*  
 that=M 1s 2s=GOAL doctor that=M-OJ=GOAL ASS-1s-send-PR/PFV-3s/ASO  
 'He sent me to the doctor for you.'

In some instances, such as (136), there is ambiguity as to whether the NP is intended as a destination or a goal (in the narrower sense). In this case, if the actual school were significant, a demonstrative and locative clitic would be used but this is not the case and ambiguity results. The ambiguity is of little significance, however, since the basic meaning remains the same.

- 136) *Nyi si sukutqäḡqä äkundowqatkäqe...*  
*nyi si sukutqä=ḡqä ä-k-dowqat-k-qäqä=i*  
 1s 2s school=GOAL ASS-2s-send-PA/PFV-1s/DSO=DEF  
 'That I sent you for schooling/to school, ...'

The =ḡqä clitic is also frequently used in verb forms, as in (124) and (126). These are forms indicating an intention to perform an action in the near or more remote future, as will be illustrated in 4.2.3.3 and 4.2.3.5.

### 3.4.4 Source

As a counterpart to the clitic =ḡqä indicating an entity to which the situation is in some way directed, the clitic =ta indicates an entity from which the situation is in some way derived. Paralleling =ḡqä, the most basic and most frequent meaning of =ta is to indicate the point of origin of a predication involving motion but there is also a range of extended meanings. It is roughly equivalent to the English *from* in its various uses.

#### 3.4.4.1 Origin of motion

The most basic usage of =ta is with a verb of motion to indicate the point of origin. As was the case with =ḡqä to indicate destination, this directional clitic normally follows one of the locative clitics. Example (122) is repeated here as (137), providing an initial illustration. The majority of instances of this

case are actually extracted from the clause into the frame, presumably to avoid having too many NPs in a single clause. As (138) shows, however, there is no rule preventing its occurrence within the clause proper.

- 137) *Ne aṇṇā yāṇisaṇi, Womāquaṇṇā āpāukuque.*  
*ne aṇṇā yā=ṇi=ta=ṇi Womāquaṇṇā=ṇṇā ā-p-w-k-qāqu=i*  
 1P village up-LOC-ORIG=GVN Kapo=GOAL ASS-come-go-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'From up at (our) village, we journeyed to Kapo.'
- 138) *...neqā häṇṇaṇṇa haqā yāṇṇisa āpāwiqāqueu.*  
*ne-qā häṇṇa=ṇṇa haqā yā=ṇṇi=sa ā-p-wā-q-qāqu-i-u*  
 1P-POSS new=TIME above up-LOC-ORIG ASS-come-go.down-PFV-1P/DSO-DEF-LOC  
 '...(he left us) at our (elevator) in which we had first come down from above.'
- 139) *"He wāuṇi ākitāṇueṇṇā?" ānatātā...*  
*he wāuṇi=i āki=ta=qu=en=kā ā-na-t-āt-ā*  
 2P work=DEF where=ORIG=M-2P=INFOQ ASS-1P-tell-SR-3S/CSR  
 '...saying to us, "What workplace are you from?"...'

### 3.4.4.2 Non-spatial source

As has already been stated, the use of =*ta* can be extended from the 'point of origin' meaning to any of several non-locative meanings, which include the following.

The rational source or reason for a subsequent event or state of being:

- 140) *Iqua mākāṇṇaṇi māki huiuta mauṇṇā quai.*  
*i=qu=a mākā=ṇṇa=ṇi mākā=i hn=i=u=ta ma-u-n-qā qu=a=i*  
 that=M=PL fight=TIME=GVN fight=DEF INDEF=F=LOC=SRC NEG-shoot-DETR-DVZR M=PL=IND  
*Apākāṇṇā, yaqueqā quwāṇṇā, ...māki ita huṇṇā quai.*  
*apākā=ṇṇā yaqueqā quwā=ṇṇā mākā=i i=ta h-u-n-qā qu=a=i*  
 woman=GOAL pig theft=GOAL fight=DEF that=SRC NEU-shoot-DETR-DVZR M=PL=IND  
 'In the time of fighting, men were not ones who fought each other for just any reason. About women, about pig-theft, ... they were fighters because of those things.'

Note in this example how =*ṇṇā* on the noun phrases and =*ta* on the anaphoric pronoun are working together both pointing to the same referent. Presumably in such instances, the fact of the fighting both originated from and was directed towards a solution to the same problems.

Source of knowledge or instructions:

- 141) *Rupen Iqu tuwaṇuā āqmiṇṇā ipisa, qayṇi*  
*Rupen i=qu tuwaṇuā ā-q-miṇ-qāqā i=pu=i=ta qayā=i*  
 Reuben that=M writing ASS-act-PA/IPFV-3S/DSO that=DIM=OJ=SRC walk=DEF  
*ikāmiṇṇe.*  
*ikā-miṇ-qāqā=i*  
 tour-PA/PFV-1S/DSO=IND  
 'From (=following) the little letter Reuben wrote, I made the journey.'

Temporal sequence:

- 142) *Ayā qāpu āmūtanitayī* *eqā qe āptāqākuque.*  
*ayā qāpu ā-māt-ani-ta-yī* *eqā qe ā-ptāqā-k-qāqā-i*  
 house CMPL ASS-build-1P/DSR-SRC=GVN water CERT ASS-cover-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'After we finished building the shelters, we covered the water.'

The clitic sequence =*tayī* serves to subordinate a clause with either a same-referent medial verb, as in (142), or a final verb. More will be said about this construction in 5.4.

### 3.4.5 Association

The case-marking clitic =*tā* can generally be translated as 'with'. It differs from the other clitics in that the relationship which it specifies is not one between the marked NP and the verb (or from a semantic perspective, between the referent and the situation predicated) but a relationship between the referent of the marked NP and either the SUBJECT or an OBJECT.

A single NP referring to an animate entity and bearing the clitic =*tā* generally indicates the person(s) who participated the predicated action in accompaniment with the actor.

- 143) *Tāqi Okalomba tāu sitānā anā āpmeṭque.*  
*tā-qi Okalomba tā=u si-tā=nā anā ā-pma-āṭ-qāqu-i*  
 this=LOC Ukarumpa this=LOC 2s=with=FCS with ASS-be-IPFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'We've been staying here together with you at Ukarumpa.'

Note that in (143) the verb form is plural indicating the 'actor' involves at least three people. In the preceding sentence, the speaker had identified himself and a third person together in a role distinct from that of the addressee. I interpret the subject in this sentence to be those two persons but all three are referenced as co-actors by the verb suffix. By contrast, in (144) the marked person is again being associated with the speaker and another person in a conversation, as indicated by the dual actor suffix in the first clause, but the verb only indicates two actors in this instance. Thus, when persons who are referred to by an NP marked by =*tā* are accompanying the subject in the performance of the proposition, the actor marking on the verb may or may not co-reference those additional actors.

- 144) *...ātimayī, qoyayā hṭqutā queya ātmiṭquee.*  
*ā-timāu-ayī qoyayā hn-qu-tā queya ā-t-miṭ-ueā-i*  
 ASS-arrive-1D/DSR old.man INDEF=M-with converse ASS-say-PA/IPFV-1D/DSO=IND  
 '...we arrived then spoke with an old man.'

It is not always the case, however, that a =*tä*-marked animate NP is in association with the subject. In (145), the referent of the NP is in association with the object of the clause, which has been dislocated into the sentence frame.

- 145) *Neson iqueŋi,      Rupenä iquṭä      äwquatmäukäqe.*  
*Neson i-qu=e-ŋi      Rupenä i-qu=tä      ä-w-quat-mäu-k-qäqä=i*  
 Nathan that=M=OJ=GVN Reuben that=M=with ASS-3-deliver-go-PA/PFV-1S/DSO=IND  
 'I left Nathan with Reuben.'

When the referent of the =*tä*-marked NP is inanimate, the default role is that of instrument – the entity used by the actor to perform the event, as in (146). The entity is not always used by the actor to perform the event, however, as in (147) where the point being made is that the item that was seen falling was quite hot.

- 146) *Ita,      hānaqä mbqätä,      Nasapqä buŋqä      äyapukuqe.*  
*i=ta      hānaqä mbqä=tä      Nasapqä m=tu=ŋqä      ä-yap-k-qäqu=i*  
 that-SRC road money=with Nadzab down=LOC=GOAL ASS-come.up-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'After that, using the trip money, we came up (and down) to Nadzab airport.'
- 147) *...äquŋgäqe,      täṭäŋi      äyä päwiqangi.*  
*ä-w-q-n-k-qäqä=i      tä=tä=ŋi      äyä p-wä-q-aŋg-i*  
 ASS-3-act-DETR-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND fire-with=GVN just come-go.down-PFV-DR-3S/ASO  
 '...he saw it, that it was coming down with fire.'

Parallel to the use of =*tä* with animate referents in (145), an inanimate marked NP is not always in association with the actor. In (148), the object (a collection of birds that have just been shot) are being put together with those shot previously.

- 148) *...yŋŋä yäpakä aquyä      äqiyaqe,      huiyṭä      huäqä      qe*  
*yŋŋä yäpakä aquyä      ä-q-aqe      huiyi=tä      huäqä      qe*  
 bird last join ASS-act-1P/DSR other=with wrapping CERT  
*äuätekuqe.*  
*ä-uät-e-k-qäqu=i*  
 ASS-cover-put-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 '...we combined the last birds we'd shot, and wrapped and put them with the others.'

Clearly, then, while accompaniment and instrument are included within the range of meaning of =*tä*, they do not constitute the total of that range. Hence the decision to simply present the range of meanings with the unified explanation that the =*tä*-marked NP is in association with another NP within the clause.

This same clitic can also be used to mark both (or all) NPs that are in a coordinated phrase in any role of the clause, as will be illustrated in 3.5.1.

### 3.5 Coordination

Two or more arguments can be coordinated in any role of a clause. Conjunction of arguments (*and*) is far more common than disjunction (*or*). The individual members in a conjunctive coordinate structure are either all marked as coordinate using *=tä* or all unmarked.

#### 3.5.1 Conjunctive coordination marked by *=tä*

The clitic *=tä* does not only indicate an association of the marked NP with either the ACTOR or OBJECT (3.4.5). The same clitic is used to mark each of the individual conjuncts in a coordination of NPs in any clause role and is, therefore, equivalent to the English 'both...and' construction except that the Menya is not limited to two conjuncts.

In (149), two named men are conjoined in the actor and subject role; as expected, the actor suffix on the verb is a dual form. When the speaker is involved, there is generally a summary pronoun agreeing in number either preceding or following the coordination, thus yielding an appositional construction, as in (150).

- 149) *Rupenä iqutä Josepā iqutä balusi mbqā äyekiyi.*  
*Rupenä i-qu-tä Josepā i-qu-tä balusi mbqā ä-ya-i-i-k-iyä-i*  
 Reuben that=M-& Joseph that=M-& plane money ASS-1D-do-BEN-PFV/23D/DSO=IND  
 'Reuben and Joseph bought plane (tickets) for us.'

- 150) *Nyitä ŋqā amā hŋqutä ye äpäweyi...*  
*nyi-tä n-qā amā hn-qu-tä ye ä-p-wä-ayi*  
 1S-& 1S-POSS uncle INDEF=M-& 1D ASS-come-descend-1D/DSR  
 'I and one of my uncles went down and...'

In (151), the presence of this pronoun serves to indicate that the marked NP is in coordination with the speaker even though the first person conjunct is not overt. That is, the pronoun serves to place both persons on an equal, coordinate footing as opposed to (152), where the construction is that described in 3.4.5 and the marked NP is less prominent than the unmarked.

- 151) *Ye Kalo iquṭā Akuanjatayi Mapäqapäṅqä äukuee.*  
*ye Kalo i-qu-tä Akuanja-ta=ṅi Mapäqapä-ṅqä ä-w-k-ueä=i*  
 1D Carl that=M-& Akwanja=ORIG=GVN Mapaqapa=GOAL ASS-go-PA/PFV-1D/DSO=IND  
 'We two, both Carl (and I), went from Akwanja to Mapaqapa.'
- 152) *Nyi Kalo iquṭā Akuanjatayi Mapäqapäṅqä äukuee.*  
*nyi Kalo i-qu-tä Akuanja-ta=ṅi Mapäqapä-ṅqä ä-w-k-ueä=i*  
 1s Carl that=M-& Akwanja=ORIG=GVN Mapaqapa=GOAL ASS-go-PA/PFV-1D/DSO=IND  
 'I, with Carl, went from Akwanja to Mapaqapa.'

The following examples illustrate conjoined NPs in various non-subject roles.

Animate Object:

- 153) ...*kānatänä kānapitänä ätuma äquyepäqänä.*  
*kä-na-tä=nä kä-nap-i-tä=nä ä-w-tma ä-quyep-q-ä=nä*  
 3-mother=&=FCS 3-yng.sis=F-&=FCS ASS-3-get ASS-come.down-PFV-1S/ASO=QT  
 '... "It's his mother and younger sister I brought down."

Inanimate Object:

- 154) *Ye yeqä yuquakätä yiquanṅätä hionaqätä ämey...*  
*ye ye-qä yuquakä-tä yiquanṅä-tä hionaqä-tä ä-ma-ayi*  
 1D 1D=POSS bow=& arrows=& machete=& ASS-get-1D/DSR  
 'We two got our bows, arrows and machetes and then ...'

Predicate Nominal:

- 155) *Qeqä yoge, Hispaisänä Anäqäpisänä.*  
*qe-qä yoqä=i Hisapi-tä=nä Anäqäpi-tä=nä*  
 2D=POSS name=DEF Hisapi=&=FCS Anaqapi=&=FCS  
 'Their names are Hisapi and Anaqapi.'

Instrumental Association:

- 156) *Nyi iwämi yiṅitā hikuisaṅitā äpätäumiṅqe.*  
*nyi iwämä=i yiṅi=i-tä hikuisaṅä=i-tä ä-pätäu-miṅ-qäqä=i*  
 1s lizard=DEF forked.arrow=DEF=& blunt.arrow=DEF=& ASS-shoot-PA/PFV-1S/DSO=IND  
 'I was shooting lizards with forked arrows and pronged arrows.'

Goal (Object of Search):

- 157) *Iqu päṅṅqätä guäṅqätä hiuṅä qunätṅqe...*  
*i-qu päṅṅ-ṅqä-tä guä-ṅqä-tä hiuṅä w-q-n-ät-ṅqä=i*  
 that=M betel=GOAL=& vine=GOAL=& eye 3-act-DETR-3S/IRR=GOAL=DEF  
 'He (went up to the forest) to look for betel nut and vines.'

The fact that the possessive in (154) applies to each of the three nominals may indicate that the coordination in this instance is of NP heads rather than of full NPs. Alternatively, the possessor could be elided from the second and third phrases. By contrast, however, note that in (157) the conjunctive =*tä*

follows the case clitic =*ɲqä* in both conjuncts indicating that in this instance it is full, case-marked NPs that are being coordinated rather than just NP heads.

### 3.5.2 Unmarked conjunctive coordination

Conjunctive coordination of unmarked NPs is also quite frequent and is found in a wide range of arguments. Whereas marking the conjuncts is more common with animate referents, and the lack of marking more common with inanimate ones, neither pairing is absolute. Even animate subjects can be joined by the juxtaposition of NPs as in (158), where it is probably significant that the clause is a nominalized clause.

- 158) ...*tmqe*,                      *Kalo ique*              *nyi Dewiti ique*              *ne*  
           *t-m=ɲqä-i*              *Kalo i-qu=e*              *nyi Dewiti i-qu=e*              *ne*  
           say-1s/IRR-GOAL=IND Carl that=M-OJ 1s David that=M-OJ 1P  
           *äukuququɲqä.*  
           *ä-w-k-qäqä=i=ɲqä*  
           ASS-go-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=DEF=GOAL  
           ‘...I’m going to talk, about (when) Carl, myself and David went.’

Animate Object:

- 159) ...*apiqukua*              *nipaäua*                      *qe*              *äwikuee.*  
           *ap=i-qu=ka*              *na=i-su-aqä=a*              *qe*              *ä-w-i-k-ueä=i*  
           father=DEF=M=PL mother=DEF=HON=PL=PL CERT ASS-3-do-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
           ‘...we two gave our fathers and mothers (some).’

Inanimate Object:

- 160) ...*buayä*              *häṅä hiopä*              *hiopä yäquwqä*              *hiukä qa*              *ämaunyaqe*,...  
           *buayä*              *häṅä hiopä*              *hiopä yäquwqä*              *hiukä qa*              *ä-ma-mi-aqe*  
           sweet.potato new tobacco tobacco leaf lime bag ASS-get-bag-1P/DSR  
           ‘...we got fresh sweet potato, tobacco, paper for cigarettes and lime powder into (our) bags and...’

Referent (Object of Search):

- 161) ...*yaqeqäṅqä*, *täṅäṅqä*,              *ɲṅṅäṅqä*              *qäuyqä ipu*,...  
           *yaqeqä=ɲqä*              *täṅä=ɲqä*              *ɲṅṅä=ɲqä*              *qäuyqä i-ät-pu*  
           pig=GOAL possum=GOAL bird=GOAL search do-SR-23P/CSR  
           ‘...they looked for pigs, possums and birds then ...’

### 3.5.3 Disjunctive coordination

In elicitation of data without context, the disjunction of NPs, or elements of NPs, is achieved by a coordination of full clauses with the relevant NP changed, as in (162). In recorded spontaneous text,

however, a few instance of disjunction of nominals do occur, some with the conjuncts marked with the particle *qe* and some without any marking, as in (163) and (164) respectively.

- 162) *Si kopiŋqä äkiŋgi, liptiŋqä äkiŋgi?*  
*si kopi=ŋqä ä-k-i-n-q-i lipti=ŋqä ä-k-i-n-q-i*  
 2s coffee=GOAL ASS-2s-do-DETR-PFV-3s/ASO tea=GOAL ASS-2s-do-DETR-PFV-3s/ASO  
 'Do you want coffee, or tea?'

- 163) "Si *sukutqä Wäuŋä qe, Bäloloŋä qe isŋqänänyä.*"  
*si skutqä Wäu=ŋä qe Bälolo=ŋä qe i-t=ŋqä=nänyä*  
 2s school Wau=LOC but Bulolo=LOC but do-2s/IRR=GOAL=FCS  
 'You can do school either in Wau or in Bulolo.'

- 164) *Ten kina tuwendi kina tuwopä kina e uyätqätaygä*  
*ten kina tuwendi kina tuwopä kina e w-i-ätq-ät-ayg-ä*  
 ten kina twenty kina twelve kina thus 3-do-PRGV-IPFV-DR-23P/ASO  
*äqunätŋqe.*  
*ä-w-q-n-ätq-äŋ-qäqä=i*  
 ASS-3-act-DETR-PRGV-IPFV-1s/DSO=IND  
 'I see people giving ten, twenty or twelve kina (as fines).'

In this last example, the meaning could be 'I see people giving ten, twenty or twelve kina on each occasion' or 'I see people giving ten, twenty or twelve kina on different occasions'. Therefore, it is not a clear case of disjunction but neither is it conjunction of the NPs. Under both interpretations it would be more normal for the full clauses to be repeated.



## 4 PREDICATE STRUCTURE

This fourth chapter will describe the form and uses of verbal portion of the clause. The first section begins (4.1) with a classification of verb roots, primarily according to their case frame which specifies the number and nature of arguments that need to be identified for the predication to be complete, and concludes with the features of verb root compounding.

The verbs are the morphologically most complex part of the language, as was stated in the overview of word classes(2.1). The morphological structure of the verb is presented in 4.2 as layered, with the innermost layer being the root, and the second being the 'nucleus'. The verb nucleus (4.2.1) is that part of the verb which is common to all its uses, including nominalization, and consists of a polarity prefix, the affectee agreement prefix, suffixes that change the valence or case frame of the verb, and suffixes that indicate certain aspectual modifications of the root meaning. Along with the description of the valence-changing suffixes will be a presentation of the associated changes within the overall clause structure.

The third layer of the verb consists of suffixes with a fairly wide range of meanings that are typologically common verbal categories, including tense, aspect, modality and status. The final verb morphology is presented first, beginning with the realis forms (past and present 4.2.2) and followed by the irrealis modality forms (4.2.3). The presentation of the final forms is relatively brief, given that this portion of verbal morphology formed the bulk of my MA thesis and has already been published (Whitehead 1991). Sufficient detail is provided, however, to allow the this reference grammar to stand as a coherent whole and, where the analysis has changed, those details are explained in full. The description of medial suffixation (4.2.4) begins with the different-referent forms since they involve many of the same suffixes that the final verbs use. The morphology presentation ends with the same-referent medial forms which, unlike those of many other Papuan languages, are inflected to agree with the person and number of their ACTOR, albeit with distinct sets of suffixes. The fourth and final layer of verb morphology is in the form of clitics which properly pertain to a higher-level structural unit. This includes the sentential clitics that encode illocutionary force (as presented in 2.2) and, for subordinate and nominalized forms (5.4), the nominal specifier and case-marking clitics indicating their relationship in the matrix clause.

The final section of the chapter (4.3) presents four categories of verbal modification – aspectual particles, adverbs, negation and nominal adjuncts.

## 4.1 Verb classification

A sub-classification of the verbs of a language's can be established on one or more of several parameters that include phonological, semantic and morphosyntactic criteria. In this section, I will first describe the variations in form of the verb root that is found in Menya, without proposing a classification system, since there are no morphosyntactic reflexes of the patterns exhibited. I will then describe a classification of verb roots according to their case frame which specifies the number and nature of arguments expected, and the potential for a person/number prefix agreeing with the affectee.

### 4.1.1 Allomorphic variation

Variation in the form of verb roots and/or stems is not unusual for Papuan languages. Foley (1986:128-32 & 147-8) describes alternants for several languages with various semantic-based differences for the alternants. These alternations are not systematic in that many verbs do not exhibit an alternation and, while there are sometimes recognizable patterns to the forms of the alternations, there is nevertheless a great deal of irregularity and even suppletion in many instances.

In Menya, most verb roots have at least two<sup>50</sup> forms, but the conditioning factor for their distribution is phonological rather than semantic. As a generalization<sup>51</sup>, the environments for the two basic forms are:

Basic: before a consonant other than *q*

Derived: before a vowel or *q*. (the initial vowel of the adjacent suffix deletes after a vowel-final root)<sup>52</sup>

As Foley noted for Papuan languages generally, there are some recognizable patterns and even some variations that look as though they could be phonologically motivated but there is a considerable amount of irregularity and some suppletion. For example, several verbs are like *pāk* ~ *pās* 'hit/kill' in Table 20, in

<sup>50</sup> There are some regular phonological processes that create additional surface variants of some roots.

<sup>51</sup> Some verbs follow this distribution pattern with all but a few suffix combinations. The second person singular present and near past perfective forms are particularly problematic. The perfective morpheme *-q* normally deletes before the actor suffixes *-n* '2S/ASO' and *-ŋl* '2S/DSO'; some verbs use the basic root for these forms, suggesting that root selection follows the deletion, whereas others use the derived root suggesting selection before the deletion.

<sup>52</sup> The inclusion of *q* with the vowels can be explained by positing that the epenthetic vowel is inserted between some consonant clusters before the weakening and voicing of *q*. Both these processes were mentioned in 1.4.

which the change is palatalization, but palatalization before all vowels would not be a well-motivated rule. Some other verbs ending in *k*, however, do not vary at all, while the verb 'tear cloth' exhibits a *pāk ~ pīs* alternation. It is, therefore, more practical to enter both forms in the lexical entry for all verbs that vary, rather than creating a collection of poorly motivated rules and then having to mark in the lexicon which verb follows which rule and which are irregular. In the morpheme analysis line of the examples throughout this grammar, the basic form of the verb root is given, regardless of the form that surfaces in the top line.

Table 20. Some examples of verb root variations.

Gloss	Basic root	'they're going to __' -p=ŋqä=i -23P/IRR=GOAL=IND	Derived root	'not __-ing' ma-__-qä NEG-__-DVZR	'We're going to __' -atu=ŋqä=i -1P/IRR=GOAL=IND
get/have	<i>ma</i>	<i>mapŋqe</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>mämeqä</i>	<i>metuŋque</i>
tour	<i>ikä</i>	<i>ikäpŋqe</i>	<i>iki</i>	<i>mikiqä</i>	<i>ikituŋque</i>
enter	<i>paqu</i>	<i>paqupŋqe</i>	<i>paquy</i>	<i>mäpaquyqä</i>	<i>paquyatuŋque</i>
cut up	<i>täwi</i>	<i>täwipŋqe</i>	<i>täuy</i>	<i>matäuyqä</i>	<i>täuyatuŋque</i>
hear it	<i>wi</i>	<i>wipŋqe</i>	<i>wiy</i>	<i>mawiyqä</i>	<i>wiyatuŋque</i>
act	<i>q</i>	<i>qpŋqe</i>	<i>qiy</i>	<i>maqiyyä</i>	<i>qiyatuŋque</i>
hit/kill	<i>päk</i>	<i>päkpŋqe</i>	<i>päs</i>	<i>mapäsqä</i>	<i>päsatuŋque</i>
birth	<i>mi</i>	<i>mipŋqe</i>	<i>nyuä</i>	<i>manyuäqä</i>	<i>nyuatuŋque</i>
harvest	<i>p</i>	<i>ppŋqe</i>	<i>suä</i>	<i>masuäqä</i>	<i>suatuŋque</i>

#### 4.1.2 Transitivity-based verb and predicate classes

The verb classes presented in this section are established for Menya on the basis of the number of arguments that are expected in a clause containing a member of the class, and the nature of those arguments. This information constitutes the CASE FRAME for the verb class and determines the type of clause it will occur in. I have established the set of relevant argument types on the basis of the way they are encoded in the language rather than according to a pre-determined, putatively universal set. Transitivity is here recognized as a scale with many potentially significant points along it (as argued in Hopper & Thompson 1980). Thus not all Menya intransitive verbs, for example, occupy the same point on the scale, and the division between intransitive and transitive is somewhat artificial in that the class that I am calling

Directed Intransitives is similar to 'transitive' verbs of other languages that require a dative case for their object rather than the normal accusative case.

Many verbs have more than one sense, with potentially different class membership and therefore different case frames. They are, therefore, entered in the lexicon as a single lexeme with the senses differentiated and each coded for its appropriate verb class. For example, the verb *e* is both an intransitive verb 'be' and a transitive verb 'put' and the verb *wā* is an existential verb 'be horizontal', an intransitive verb 'lie down', and a motion verb 'go down'. Derivation (4.2.1.3) of verb roots yields a verb stem which is generally of a different class, as is often the case also with adjunct+verbal phrases (4.3.4). Compounding (4.1.3) of verb roots results in a case frame that is a combination of those of its component root(s). Some of the classes established here are only exemplified by these complex constructions though most are also exemplified by simple roots; the full range of case frames, both basic and derived, is presented here for the sake of completeness.

All verbs require an ACTOR – the entity performing the event or state predicated. There is a verb suffix which indicates the person and number of this entity. Most verbs require that the ACTOR be the SUBJECT and therefore an overt noun phrase or pronoun will not bear any case marking, as described in 2.3.2.

Most verbs allow at least one AFFECTEE argument – an entity, other than the actor, that is affected by the event predicated. There is a verb prefix which indicates the person and number of an animate (especially human) affectee. It is normally the OBJECT and does not bear a case marker unless it is encoded by a demonstrative pronoun or specifier, in which case it bears the object marker described in 3.1.2.

The nature of the ACTOR and the number of AFFECTEE arguments determine the transitivity of the verb as intransitive (no affectee), transitive (one affectee), ditransitive (two affectee arguments) or impersonal (unidentified or dummy actor encoded as 3SG).

The additional diagnostic arguments are an ATTRIBUTIVE (nominal or adjectival), a LOCATION, a DESTINATION, and a GOAL. The attributive is a non-case-marked argument that provides an attribute of the actor. The location argument indicates the position either of the actor (intransitive) or of an affectee that is being repositioned by the actor; it bears a locative enclitic, as introduced in 3.4.2. The destination argument

indicates the endpoint of a motion verb and is encoded by a locative phrase with the addition of the goal enclitic (3.4.3.1). The goal argument indicates an entity that is potentially but not necessarily affected by the predicated event; it is encoded as a pronoun or noun phrase bearing the goal clitic (3.4.3.2).

Table 21. Subclasses of verbs and their diagnostic arguments

	Actor	Affectee	Attributive	Location	Destination	Goal
Intrans. event	+					
Intrans. attribution	+		+			
Intrans. position	+			+		
Intrans. motion	+				+	
Directed intrans.	+					+
Trans. event	+	+				
Trans. attribution	+	+	+			
Trans. position	+	+		+		
Trans. motion	+	+			+	
Ditransitive	+	++				
Impersonal experience	(+)	+				
Directed impersonal	(+)	+				+

#### 4.1.2.1 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs encode an event in which there is not an entity or argument, other than the actor, that is affected by the event.

##### Intransitive event

The simplest of case frames is that of the intransitive event which predicates that the actor did something, whether consciously or otherwise. The verb *q ~ qiy* glossed as 'act' in (166) is one of the 'generic' verbs that has very little semantic content in its own right but combines with various nominals to provide a specific meaning<sup>53</sup>. In combination with the noun 'rain' it can bear an affectee prefix to yield the meaning 'rain on someone', as is shown in (180) below. Similarly, the verb in (167) can be a transitive root with an affectee prefix, yielding the meaning 'ridicule someone'. Rather than classifying these verbs as

<sup>53</sup> These verbs were first mentioned in 2.1 and their interaction with adjunct nominals will be presented in 4.3.4.1. The verb *q* 'act' has a more restricted range of uses than does *t* 'do' and the gloss 'act' is an attempt to reflect both the similarity but non-identity in the meaning of the two verbs.

transitive with an object rarely expressed, I am treating the transitive uses as a second sense of the basic, intransitive meaning.

- 165) *Yaqueqäqu qe äpäkoygäqäqe.*  
*yaqueqä=qu qe ä-päkon-q-qäqä=i*  
 pig=M CERT ASS-die-PR/PFV-3s/DSO=IND  
 'The pig died.'
- 166) *Piyä äqiyqi.*  
*piyä ä-q-q-i*  
 rain ASS-act-PFV-3s/ASO  
 'It's raining.'
- 167) *Iqu tä<sup>54</sup> äskqe.*  
*i=qu tä ä-s-k-qäqä=i*  
 that=M teeth ASS-tooth.do-PA/PFV-3DSO=IND  
 'He laughed.'

### Intransitive attributive

The intransitive attributive verbs predicate an attribute, either adjectival or nominal, that is true of the actor. Many of the existential verbs of the next sub-section can also be used with this function. The most frequent member of the class is the verb root *e* 'be, become' which is neutral in terms of physical orientation. The verb in (169) is the detransitivized (4.2.1.3) form of the verb 'build' and functions as the stative/existential for houses; it appears to be the only verb that undergoes this derivation.

- 168) *Ne ämaqä naqä eäñu.*  
*ne ämaqä naqä e-äñ-u*  
 1P person big be-IPFV-1P/ASO  
 'We are important people.'
- 169) *Nqä apiqueqä aqi naqänäñä*  
*n=qä ap=i-qu=e=qä aqä=i naqä-näñä*  
 1s=POSS 1's\_father=DEF=M=OJ=POSS house=DEF big-very  
*ämätmñqe.*  
*ä-mät-n-mñ-qäqä=i*  
 ASS-build-DETR-PA/IPFV-3s/DSO=IND  
 'My father's house was very large.'

<sup>54</sup> As will be explained in 4.3.4.1, the word *tä* is a verbal adjunct distinct from the noun meaning 'teeth'. It is not, therefore, an object or instrument as might be suspected.

The verbs are equivalent to copula verbs and, generally, the verb is omitted in a predication of this type in the present tense, yielding a non-verbal clause. Thus, the denotation of (168) above would more frequently be expressed as (170).

- 170) *Ne ämaqä naqäqune.*  
*ne ämaqä naqä=qu=ne*  
 1P person big=M=1P  
 'We are important people.'

### Intransitive positional (existential)

The intransitive positional verbs predicate the existence of the actor and readily allow specification of its location. Most of these verbs indicate a specific physical orientation (such as *tqäü* 'be vertical' or *wä* 'be horizontal') and most inanimate objects can only collocate with the verb specifying the appropriate orientation. Animate entities, especially humans, can freely occur with whichever verb is appropriate for their orientation at the time at which the predication applies.

- 171) *Iqiṽi, yä naqänäṽä hṽqu ätqäüä.*  
*i=qi=ṽi yä naqä-näṽä hn=qu ä-tqäü-äṽ<sup>55</sup>-ä*  
 that=LOC=GVN tree big-very INDEF=M ASS-stand-IPFV-3S/ASO/IPFV  
 'There, a very large tree is standing (= There, there is a very large tree.)'
- 172) *Nqä apiqu Kapo iu äpmamiṽqe.*  
*n=qä ap=i-qu Kapo i=u ä-pma-miṽ-qäqä=i*  
 1S-POSS 1's\_father=DEF=M Kapo that=LOC ASS-be-PA/IPFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'My father used to live in Kapo.'

### Intransitive motion

The motion verbs (both transitive and intransitive) do not require the specification of a destination but are the only ones which allow it. The most common motion verbs, including some compounds, are:

<i>p</i>	'come'	<i>w ~ u</i>	'go'
<i>yap</i>	'come up'	<i>y</i>	'go up'
<i>quyep</i>	'come down'	<i>wä ~ wi</i>	'go down'
<i>päü</i>	'pass by'	<i>päwä</i>	'pass going down'

As (174) and (175) illustrate, these verbs also allow specification of the source (3.4.4.1) and path (3.4.2) of the motion, though these are less frequent.

<sup>55</sup> The imperfective morpheme deletes before the 3S/ASO suffix as described in 4.2.2.5.

- 173) *yeqä aḡāmḡä äpāukuee.*  
*ye=qä aḡä=m=ḡqä ä-p-w-k-ueä=i*  
 1D=POSS village-unseen=GOAL ASS-come-go-PA/PFV-1D/DSO=IND  
 'We (two) came home.'
- 174) *Ne aḡä yäḡisaḡi Womäquaḡäḡqä äpāukäque*  
*ne aḡä yä=ḡi=ta=ḡi Womäquaḡä=ḡqä ä-p-w-k-qäqu=i*  
 1P village up=LOC-ORIG=GVN Kapo=GOAL ASS-come-go-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'From up at (our) village we went to Kapo.'
- 175) *Ye huänaḡä täu weḡqe.*  
*ye huänaḡä tä=u w-e=ḡqä=i*  
 1D road this=LOC go-1D/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'We're going to go along this path.'

### Directed intransitive

The directed intransitive frame includes a goal (marked by =ḡqä) as a second argument towards which the event is directed but which is not necessarily affected. To date, I have found no simple verb root that requires this argument combination but some common roots in conjunction with a verbal adjunct require or can bear this frame. The most generic verb *i* 'do' in combination with the adjunct *qäuyḡä* 'seek' predicates a search and the object of the search is marked as a goal.

- 176) *Iqu aḡä äḡḡuiḡqä qäuyḡä ikäqäqe.*  
*i-qu aḡä äḡḡuä=i=ḡqä qäuyḡä i-k-qäqä=i*  
 that-M place good=DEF=GOAL seek do-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'He sought a good place (to build).'

The combination of the adjunct *a* 'hand' and *täu* 'cut' means 'count' or 'read' and the item being counted or read is normally encoded as an object. The item can, however, be marked as a goal rather than as an affected object with the meaning changes as indicated in the translations of (177). The verbal phrase *a täu* is another instance of two senses of a word or phrase belonging to different classes.

- 177) *Iqu ḡḡḡä huitaḡi huitaḡiḡqä a ätäuätḡä.*  
*i-qu ḡḡḡä huitaḡi huitaḡi=ḡqä a ä-täu-ätḡ-äḡ-ä*  
 that-M bird different different=GOAL hand ASS-cut-PRGV-IPFV-3S/ASO/IPFV  
 'He is reading about the different kinds of birds.'  
 OR 'He is (mentally, without seeing) counting the different kinds of birds.'



#### 4.1.2.2 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs are those which have a second argument indicating the entity affected by the event. The same range of variations exists as for intransitive verbs. Most of these verbs require a person/number prefix agreeing with the affected entity when it is human or otherwise highly salient.

##### Transitive event (including perception)

This is the largest of the sub-classes of verbs. The verb in (179) is one that requires a human affectee and, accordingly, a person/number prefix indicating the referent.

- 178) *Āmaqä iqu aḡä ämätkäqe.*  
*āmaqä i-qu aḡä ä-mät-k-qäqä-i*  
 person that-M house ASS-build-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'The man built a house.'

- 179) *Huäqi iqu änyimeqäqe.*  
*huäqi i-qu ä-n-ima-q-qäqä-i*  
 yesterday that-M ASS-1s-meet-PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'Yesterday he came to me'

A comparison of (180) and (166) shows that some verb roots can be either transitive or intransitive, depending on the situation.

- 180) *Piyä äyaqäkäqe.*  
*piyä ä-ya-q-k-qäqä-i*  
 rain ASS-1D-act-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'It rained on us two.'

The expression of the common perceptions, 'see' and 'hear', are encoded transitively in Menya, using derivations (4.2.1.3) of the generic verbs *q* 'act' and *t* 'do' respectively<sup>56</sup>. In the full expressions, the appropriate body part ('eye' and 'ear') are used as verbal adjuncts (4.3.4.2) but these can be omitted whenever the correct meaning is determinable from context. Example (181) illustrates the full expression for 'see/look at'; the verb 'act' is obligatorily marked with the detransitivizer *-n* and the affectee prefix agrees with the entity seen, even if it is inanimate; without the verb prefix, the meaning would be the intransitive 'look'. For 'hear' or 'listen to', the verb 'do' is obligatorily marked with the benefactive suffix *-i* and an affectee prefix.

<sup>56</sup> An alternative would be to propose distinct transitive verb roots *qn* 'see/look' and *wt* 'hear/listen', and consider the correspondence of forms to be accidental.

- 181) *Eqä yakä hiuyä äquyqäqäque.*  
*eqä yakä hiuyä ä-w-q-n-q-qäqu=i*  
 water bridge eye ASS-3-act-DETR-PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'We recently saw the bridge over the water.'

- 182) *Si qätä änyiyäyn?*  
*si qätä ä-n-i-i-äy-n*  
 2s ear ASS-1s-do-BEN-IPFV-2S/ASO  
 'Are you listening to me?.'

### Transitive attributive

The transitive attributive verb predicates that the actor has brought about a change of state of the affected argument.

- 183) *Ämaqe nyaqä apiqueyi,* *ämaqä naqä imäkkui.*  
*ämaqä=i n-yaqä ap=i-qu=e-yi* *ämaqä naqä imäk-k-uwä=i*  
 person=DEF 1s=POSS 1's.father=DEF=M=OJ=GVN person big make-PA/PFV-23P/DSO=IND  
 'The people made my father an important man.'
- 184) ... *kukyuä di jänä imäkpuyä.*  
*kukyuä n-ti jänä imäk-p-yä*  
 talk level-that straight make-23P/GOAL  
 '...they will straighten the talk (dispute).'

### Transitive positional

This verb type indicates that the actor has positioned the affected argument in a particular location. The most common such verb, illustrated in (185), is *e* 'put' which was introduced in 4.1.2.1 as an intransitive attributive verb; this is the transitive sense of the same lexeme.

- 185) *Neqä yuqayi, ne balusi ayä yäpä yängisa ekuque.*  
*ne-qä yuqayä=i ne balusi ayä yäpä yä=ygisa e-k-qäqu=i*  
 1P=POSS baggage=DEF 1P plane place inside up=side put-PA/PFV-1P/DSP=IND  
 'Our cargo, we put up inside the plane.'
- 186) *"He yä iqä eqäkpüyä."*  
*he yä i-qä eqäk-p-yä*  
 2P post that=LOC lean-23P=QT  
 ' "Lean the posts over there!" '

### Transitive motion

A transitive motion verb indicates that the actor has initiated a movement of the affectee in the direction of the destination. The primary member of this class is *dowqat* 'send'.

- 187) *Nyi iqueŋi situwä duyqä ändowqatqäqe.*  
*nyi i-qu=e-ŋi situwä n-tu-ŋqä ä-dowqat-q-qäqä=i*  
 1s that=M-OJ=GVN store level=LOC=GOAL ASS-send-PFV-1s/DSO=IND  
 'I sent him to the store.'

#### 4.1.2.3 Ditransitive event

The prototypical ditransitive verb, in languages that have them, is that of 'giving', in which an item is transferred from the possession of one person to that of another. In Menya, both the gift (*yeqä aŋä hŋqu* 'a house for us' in (188)) and the recipient (*iquau* 'them' in (189)) are coded as OBJECTS, with no NP marking other than the clitic on human objects. Typical of Papuan languages, the recipient must be given greater prominence, and this is indicated in Menya by the verb prefix agreeing in person and number with the recipient rather than with the patient.

- 188) S O<sub>2</sub> O<sub>1</sub>  
*Iqu yeqä aŋä hŋqu äyätapkäqe.*  
*i-qu ye=qä aŋä hn-qu ä-ya-tap-k-qäqä=i*  
 that=M 1D=POSS house INDEF=M ASS-1D-give-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'He gave us a house to stay in. (Lit: he gave us our house.)'
- 189) O<sub>2</sub> Manr O<sub>1</sub> O<sub>1</sub>  
*Suqä aayä yäŋänäŋŋqe, tiŋä iquau äuyätäŋqe.*  
*suqä aayä yäŋänäŋŋqä=i ti=ŋä i-qu=a-u ä-w-i-ätq-äŋ-qäqä=i*  
 custom true strong-DEF this=GVN that=M=PL-OJ ASS-3-do-PRGV-IPFV-1s/DSO=IND  
 'The strongest of customs, I give (= teach) them (=my children) this way.'

The verb *t*, though generally glossed as 'say', covers a wide range of events that produce noise, including the vocalizations of various animals and insects and the noise of a tree cracking (190). The word or phrase specifying the noise made is an object but when an utterance is addressed to a person, that person is the primary object and referenced by the affectee verb prefix, as in (191). By analogy, a speech is being transferred to a recipient.

- 190) S O  
*Yä kaqä ätqi.*  
*yä kaqä ä-t-q-i*  
 tree crack ASS-say-PFV-3s/ASO  
 'The tree just cracked.'

- 191) S O<sub>2</sub> O<sub>1</sub>  
*Nyi kukṣuä tä äqesqe.*  
*nyi kukṣuä tä ä-qe-s-q-qäqä=i*  
 1s talk this ASS-2D-say-PFV-1s/DSO=IND  
 'I have given (lit: said) this talk to you.'

The objects of a ditransitive are not always the transferred item and the recipient. The normally transitive verb *ma* 'get/have' is modified by the verbal adjunct *quwä* 'by stealth' to yield the concept 'rob/steal'. In (192), the person who has been robbed is referenced by the verb prefix making it the primary object and the item stolen the secondary object. English correlates the choice of object in this context with a choice of verb ('rob' versus 'steal') and requires that the second argument be oblique. Menya uses the same phrasal verb but differs in whether or not there is verb prefix agreeing with the person robbed, reflecting a difference between transitive and ditransitive senses of the verb. The ditransitive sense is that exemplified by (192), and the possessive pronoun *nyaqä* could be omitted without changing the meaning. In the transitive sense, the verb would be *ämeqäqeqä*, with no affectee prefix, and the possessive pronoun could not be omitted without changing the meaning.

- 192) *Ätqi* "Patiququ nyaqä päṅä qaqä quwä äñmeqäqeqä."  
*ä-t-q-i Patiqu=qu n=yaqä päṅä qaqä quwä ä-n-ma-q-qäqä=i-qä*  
 ASS-say-PFV-3s/ASO Patiqu=M 1s=POSS betel pepper steal ASS-1s-get-PFV-3s/DSO=IND=QT  
 'He says "Patiqu robbed me (of) my betel nut and betel pepper."'

#### 4.1.2.4 Impersonal experience verbs

The impersonal experience verbs encode a variety of states and are marked as having a third person singular actor but there is no referent to whom responsibility for the event is attributed. The affected entity, who is necessarily an animate experiencer, is referenced by the verb prefix but is clause initial and in the unmarked case when overtly specified. By the criteria presented in 2.3.2, this animate experiencer is the CLAUSE TOPIC (initial position) and SUBJECT (not case-marked) of the impersonal experience clause rather than the non-referential third singular ACTOR.

- 193) *Iqu täṅä kuapä äwungī.*  
*i-qu täṅä kuapä ä-w-u-n-q-i*  
 that=M pain many ASS-3-shoot-DETR-PFV-3s/ASO  
 'He is experiencing great pain.'

- 194) *Nyi yaqä änyqi.*  
*nyi yaqä ä-n-i-q-i*  
 1s sickness ASS-1s-do-PFV-3s/ASO  
 'I am sick.'

Such constructions are common in Papuan languages and often labelled as experiential clauses<sup>57</sup>. I am opting for the term impersonal experience because it focusses on the essential element of an impersonal, non-referential actor whereas there are some 'experiences' that can be expressed either impersonally or by a normal event clause. Each of the following three clauses illustrate different senses of the phrasal verb *yeqä i* 'happiness do'. They are an intransitive event, an impersonal experience, and a transitive event, respectively. In each case, the one(s) experiencing happiness are both clause topic and subject. (In the third, the experiencer is being instructed to share the experience.) In the first and third, the experiencer is also coded on the verb by the actor suffix, presumably indicating a more controlled event. In the impersonal experience variation (196), the verb is detransitivized and the experiencer is coded as the affectee.

- 195) ...*ne äwqä yeqä itan kimaqi ätukuque.*  
*ne äwqä yeqä i-ät-an kima=qi ä-w-t-k-qäqu=i*  
 1P abdomen happy do-SR-1P/CSR answer=GVN ASS-3-say-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 '...we were happy and answered them.'
- 196) *Ne äwqä yeqä äneygäqe.*  
*ne äwqä yeqä ä-na-i-n-k-qäqä=i*  
 1P abdomen happy ASS-1P-DO-DETR-PA/PFV-3s/DSO=IND  
 'We were happy.'
- 197) *si yeqä änguänä äuyätnä...*  
*si yeqä änguä=nä ä-w-i-ät-n*  
 2s happy good=FCS ASS-3-do-SR-2s/CSR  
 'you are to welcome them and...'

### Directed impersonal verbs

The directed impersonals differ from the other impersonals in that the feeling or emotion experienced by the affectee is directed towards another entity, who is encoded as a Goal NP, marked with =*uqä* 'GOAL'.

<sup>57</sup> Farr (1999:126) calls them impersonal experiential predicates.

- 198) *Nyi sinyqä huäqä änuŋgi.*  
*nyi si=ŋqä huäqä ä-n-u-n-q-i*  
 1s 2s=GOAL pity ASS-1s-shoot-DETR-PFV-3s/ASO  
 'I'm sorry for you. (Lit: I'm pity-shot concerning you.)'
- 199) *Nyi apäkäŋqä änyingäqäqe.*  
*nyi apäkä=ŋqä ä-n-i-n-k-qäqä=i*  
 1s woman=GOAL ASS-1s-do-DETR-PA/PFV-3s/DSO=IND  
 'I wanted (a) woman.'

#### 4.1.3 Compound stems

The combining of verb roots to form a compound verb stem is a more frequent and productive process than is the compounding of noun roots to form noun stems (3.2.2.1). The verbs *kä* 'grab' and *qät* 'hold' are seen individually in (200a and b) but as a compound stem in (200c). Both component verbs being transitive events, the compound is also transitive. The word *a* 'hand' is a verbal noun (4.3.4.1) and cannot be modified, whereas *hipa*, being a noun, has no such restrictions.

- 200) a. *Nyi ique a äkäkäqe.*  
*nyi i-qu-e a ä-kä-k-qäqä-i*  
 1s that=M-OJ hand ASS-grab-PA/PFV-1s/DSO=IND  
 'I grabbed him.'
- b. *Ne ique a yäqänä äqätäŋu.*  
*ne i-qu-e a yäqä=nä ä-qät-äŋ-u*  
 1p that=M-OJ hand still=FCS ASS-hold-IPFV-1p/ASO  
 'We are still holding him.'
- c. *Nyi yäuki hipa hŋqunä äkiqätqä.*  
*nyi yäukä=i hipa hn-qu=nä ä-kä-qät-q-ä*  
 1s ball=DEF hand INDEF=M=FCS ASS-grab-hold-PFV-1s/ASO  
 'I (just now) caught the ball with one hand.'

The resultant meaning of a compound, however, is sometimes extended beyond the literal meaning of the parts and, as in (202), even contrary to the meaning of the parts. What Shem did was sufficient to stop the bus but he neither grabbed nor held it.

- 201) *Iqu nyinqä hiuyeqä a äkiqätqi.*  
*i-qu nyi=ŋqä hiuyeqä a ä-kä-qät-q-i*  
 that=M 1s=GOAL dog hand ASS-grab-hold-PFV-3s/ASO  
 'He is taking care of (my) dog for me.'

- 202) *Basi hyqu äqunayi, Sem iqu a kīqātqayga...*  
*basi hn-qu ä-w-q-n-ayi Sem i-qu a ä-kä-qāt-q-ayg=yga*  
 bus INDEF=M ASS-3-act-DETR-1D/DSR Shem that=M hand ASS-grab-hold-PFV-DR=TIME  
 'We saw a bus<sup>58</sup> and Shem flagged it down then...'

Many of the compounds involve a positional verb and an activity verb indicating that the activity continued while the actor was in the specified position/location, as in (203). The positional verb in (203) is *qāma* 'be' which is similar to the more frequent *pma* 'be/live' but is only found in compound stems.

- 203) ...*hiopä itan quea ätqāmanmiḡque.*  
*hiopä i-ät-an quea ä-t-qāma-n-miḡ-qāqu=i*  
 tobacco do-SR-1P/CSR story ASS-say-be-DETR-PA/IPFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 '(chewing) and smoking, we stayed there telling stories.'

Other compounds consist of two action verbs indicating that the actor was performing both actions simultaneously (204). Here a transitive action verb is joined to an intransitive motion verb and the resulting stem has a case frame containing both a location (specified by *qāuqā im*) and an affectee (specified by *pāḡä qayä*).

- 204) ...*qāuqā im pāḡä qayä änduäkitan<sup>59</sup>...*  
*qāuqā i=m pāḡä qayä ä-du-ikä-ät-an*  
 forest that=unseen betel.nut pepper ASS-harvest-tour-SR-1P-CSR  
 '...we went around in the forest harvesting betel nut and betel peppers...'

As the 'grab-hold' combinations showed, however, the events being combined can be sequential rather than simultaneous. In (205), the cooking has to precede the eating.

- 205) *buayä häḡä häkiyā äyāḡgäquque.*  
*buayä häḡä häkiyā ä-yä-n-k-qāqu=i*  
 sweet. potato new cook ASS-cook-eat-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'We cooked and ate fresh sweet potato.'

There are also numerous instances of verb roots appearing to be complex, with recurring partials among them, but for which a clear analysis cannot be provided because some of the parts do not appear to occur in isolation.

<sup>58</sup> The verb 'see' is marked has having a third person affectee yet 'a bus' is not animate to the Western mind. However, powered vehicles (planes, buses, etc) are apparently classified as animate in Menya, even requiring the animate positional verb *pma* when their position or existence is being predicated.

<sup>59</sup> The verb *ikä* regularly metathesizes to *äki* when compounded.

## 4.2 Verb morphology

Menya verbs bear up to two prefixes and seven suffixes (2.1), in addition to the mood clitic (2.2) which occurs sentence-finally. The realis/irrealis distinction (2.3), and the final/medial and same-referent/different-referent distinctions (2.4), are all reflected in the verb suffixes. The nature of this suffixation is such that it is natural to recognize different categories of verb forms in presenting the verb morphology. All of these categories have in common the potential for a polarity prefix, an affectee person/number prefix and a potentially complex verb stem, which collectively form the 'verb nucleus', as well as at least one actor person/number suffix. The structure of these verb categories is summarized in the following formulae<sup>60</sup>.

verb nucleus	→	(polarity)	(affectee p/n)	verb stem	(valence)	(aspectual)
realis final	→	nucleus	tense/aspect	actor p/n	(mood)	
irrealis final 1	→	nucleus	(aspect)	actor p/n <sub>1</sub>	( <i>n</i> )	( <i>ŋqä</i> + actor p/n <sub>2</sub> )
irrealis final 2	→	nucleus	(aspect)	actor p/n <sub>1</sub>	( <i>ni</i> + actor p/n <sub>2</sub> )	( <i>ŋqä</i> ) (mood)
realis DR medial	→	nucleus	aspect <i>ang</i>	actor p/n	(case)	
irrealis DR medial	→	nucleus	aspect <i>ang</i>	actor p/n	( <i>tqä</i> )	(subordinator)
realis SR medial	→	nucleus	( <i>äɾ</i> )	actor p/n	(case)	
irrealis SR medial	→	nucleus	(aspect)	actor p/n	<i>qä</i>	(subordinator)

The presentation of the morphology will begin with the common nucleus. It will continue with the realis final forms since the semantic domains encoded by them are the least exotic (from the perspective of English), even though the realis SR medial and some irrealis final forms are actually less complex structurally. Furthermore, since the morphology of Menya final verbs has previously been published in Whitehead 1991, the presentation of that portion of the structure will be somewhat less detailed, without omitting the essential features of this important part of the language.

### 4.2.1 Verb nucleus

The verb nucleus is that part of the verb morphology that is common to all uses of the verb – including serial verb forms (206) and deverbalized forms (207)–(208)<sup>61</sup>. It consists, as shown in the formula above, of

<sup>60</sup> The bold-face italic items in these formulae are specific Menya morphemes; → should be read 'is composed of'; parentheses () indicate optionality; the '~' indicates either of the two morphemes may occur; the '+' within parentheses indicates that the morphemes must co-occur.

<sup>61</sup> The most common use of the deverbalized form is in the negative verbal phrase which was introduced in 2.3.5 and will be elaborated upon in 4.3.3.



a polarity prefix, an affectee person-number prefix, a verb stem consisting of one or more roots, a valence-changing derivational suffix and an aspectual modification in the form of a suffix.

- 206) *Nyi äkuyäma umqe.*  
*nyi ä-k-uyäma w-m=ŋqä=i*  
 1s ASS-2s-leave go-1s/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'I'm going to leave you.'
- 207) *Iqu kima mandqä iqon.*  
*i-qu kima ma-n-t-qä i-q-ä-n*  
 that=M answer NEG-1s-say-DVZR do-PFV-3s/IRR-FUT  
 'He will always be unable to answer me.'
- 208) *Iqu tä mämeqisäqä iqi.*  
*i-qu tä ma-ma-qisä-qä i-q-i*  
 that=M firewood NEG-get-to.fro-DVZR do-PFV-3s/ASO  
 'He's not going back and forth bringing firewood.'

#### 4.2.1.1 Polarity prefix

The polarity prefix indicates the polarity of the proposition (positive or negative) and something of the strength of the assertion (strong or neutral). Givón (2001a:370) discusses the interaction of the four propositional modalities (presupposition, realis assertion, irrealis assertion and negative assertion) with subjective certainty or strength of assertion. He proposes the following as the "ranking of epistemic modalities by subjective certainty".

$$\text{presupposition} > \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{R-assertion} \\ \text{NEG-assertion} \end{array} \right\} > \text{IRR-assertion}$$

Ignoring presupposition for the present, the Menya polarity prefix contrasts a strong and weak degree of certainty for positive assertions (which in final verbs exhibits a close correlation to the realis-irrealis contrast<sup>62</sup>) but does not extend this strength contrast to negative assertion. This yields the pattern presented in Table 22.

<sup>62</sup> When pressed to explain the difference between an irrealis final form with and without the assertion prefix, some speakers state that there is a greater degree of certainty when the prefix is present but generally they say they are the same.

Table 22. Polarity prefixes

	strong	weak
positive	<i>ä-</i>	<i>ø ~ h-</i>
negative	<i>ma-</i>	

The strong positive assertion prefix *ä-* occurs in many of the examples to this point, including (198) and (199), and is glossed as 'ASS'. It deletes before the high-front vowel and is therefore only covertly present with verbs such as *i* 'do' in (209); in general, it is not included in the interlinearization of such verb forms.

- 209) *Ii wäuyä iqi.*  
*i=i wäuyä ä-i-q-i*  
 that=F work ASS-do-PFV-3S/ASO  
 'She is working'

The weak positive assertion most typical of irrealis propositions is the semantically and morphologically unmarked category. The *h-* alternant only occurs before vowels other than the high front *i*, as in (210), and is glossed as 'neutral', which will be explained below.

- 210) *Nyi yaueqä yi humqe.*  
*nyi yaueqä yi h-u-m-ηqä=i*  
 1s pig arrow NEU-shoot-1S/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'I'm going to shoot a pig.'

The negative *ma-* is used whenever the truth value is negative, regardless of the strength of the assertion. Example (207) is an irrealis future proposition and (208) is a realis present proposition, for which a weak and strong assertion factor, respectively, would be expected. The vowel of *ma-* deletes before the high front vowel, as in (211) and reduces to *ä* when the affectee prefix or verb stem contains an *a*, as in (208).

- 211) *Iqu wäuyä miqä iqi.*  
*i-qu wäuyä ma-i-qä i-q-i*  
 that=M work NEG-do-DVZR do-PFV-3S/ASO  
 'He is not working.'

As has already been stated in 2.3.5 and will be discussed in more detail in 4.3.3, a negative proposition is normally encoded with a negated and deverbilized form of the semantically main verb followed by an auxiliary verb bearing the appropriate suffixes.

negative verbal phrase → *ma*-{main verb}-*qä* {aux verb}-{suffixation}

This is not always the case, however. In the following interchange (212), the primary speaker is telling the story of a journey he and others had taken some time earlier and at this point states that they remained for a while at an 'empty' house (or hamlet). The second speaker interrupts to ask whether there were no inhabitants, using a negated different-referent medial form of the verb. The answer indicates that the regular inhabitants were temporarily absent, using the more normal phrasal negative, though again with a DR medial.

- 212) A: *Ayä ayqäqi qe äpmamiyque.*  
           *ayä ayqä=qi qe ä-pma-miy-qäqu=i*  
           house empty-LOC CERT ASS-be-PA/IPFV-1P/DSO=IND

A: 'We stayed at an empty house.'

- B: *Ämaqä mäpmetaygä?*  
           *ämaqä ma-pma-ät-ayg-ä*  
           person NEG-be-IPFV-DR-3P/ASO

B: 'Did nobody live there?'

- A: *Ämaqe mäpmeqä hitaygä.*  
           *ämaqä=i ma-pma-qä h-e-ät-ayg-ä*  
           person=DEF NEG-be-DVZR NEU-be-IPFV-DR-23P/ASO

A: 'The people were not.'

Examples (213) and (214) also illustrate the contrast in form and meaning. In the former, the negated verb is inflected as a medial form and indicates that the speaker had no food that he could have eaten. In (214) with the deverbilized verb plus an inflected auxiliary, the implication is that there was food but the speaker had not yet eaten or had chosen not to eat. The normal deverbil plus auxiliary is, therefore, used when there is an actor who could potentially have performed the non-event.

- 213) *Nyi buayä mangayga si änyimeyi.*  
           *nyi buayä ma-y-q-ayg-yga si ä-n-ima-q-yä=i*  
           1s food NEG-eat-PFV-DR=TIME 2s ASS-1s-meet-PFV-2S/DSO=IND  
           'You came to me when I had nothing to eat.'

- 214) *Nyi buayä maḡqä iqanga si änyimeḡi.*  
*nyi buayä ma-ḡ-qä i-q-aḡg-ḡga si ä-n-ima-q-ḡä-i*  
 1s food NEG-eat-DVZR do-PFV-DR=TIME 2s ASS-1s-meet-PFV-2s/DSO=IND  
 'You came to me when I hadn't eaten.'

It is noteworthy that the DR medial contained in the response in (212) does bear the weak assertion prefix, *h-*, which is glossed as 'neutral' as in (210). Whereas with final verb forms there is a fairly close correlation between strong positive assertion and realis, and between weak assertion and irrealis, with medial verbs there is a correlation between strong assertion and Same-Referent forms and between weak assertion and Different-Referent forms. In neither case are the correlations absolute but at this stage of analysis I can only speculate as to why. DR medials are frequently marked as part of the presupposed frame against which the main proposition is asserted. Conversely, most instances of SR medials are part of the assertion. It is possible, therefore, that at one stage in the development of the language the strong assertion *ä-* was contrasted with the weakly asserted irrealis and the non-asserted, presupposed ends of the Givón's array given above. If this is the case, then in the current form of the language, the positive prefixes are becoming more grammatically rather than pragmatically controlled.

Further evidence of the strong-weak contrast undergoing change is the fact that many younger speakers have a hard time recognizing and controlling its use; this is especially true with the irrealis finals. Another complication arises from the vowel-final nature of Menya words and the tendency towards vowel sequence reduction across word boundaries in normal speech. Since *ä* is the weakest vowel it often only resurfaces in careful speech.

#### 4.2.1.2 Affectee prefix

The AFFECTEE is defined as 'an entity, other than the actor, that is affected by the predication' (2.3.2). The affectee prefix, indicating the person and number of an animate (especially human) affectee, was introduced in 2.3 and was one of the factors in determining verb classes in 4.1.2. Table 7, giving the form of the prefixes, is reproduced here for the sake of convenience.

Table 23. Affectee prefixes

	singular	dual	plural
first	<i>n-</i>	<i>ya-</i>	<i>na-</i>
second	<i>k-</i>	<i>qe-</i>	<i>e-</i>
third	<i>w- ~ ø</i>		

The underlying semantic role of the affectee is determined by the inherent property of the verb root, modifiable by the addition of one of the voice- or valence-changing suffixes (to be introduced in 4.2.1.3). The following examples demonstrate the range of semantic roles that can be considered, in Menya, as the affectee. The roles specified above the verb are approximations intended only to highlight the differences.

- 215) Patient (physically affected)

"*Nyi ämbäsikquwiä.*"

*nyi ä-n-päk-ik-q-uwä=i-qä*

1s ASS-1s-hit-cook-PFV-23P/DSO=IND=QT

' "You recently killed and cooked me." ' (spoken by a mythical snake)

- 216) Locative endpoint

*Iqu eqä änyiquatqi ~ änjiquatqi*<sup>63</sup>.

*i-qu eqä ä-n-iquat-q-i*

that=M water ASS-1s-pour-PFV-3S/ASO

'He just poured water on me.'

- 217) Object of perception

Experiencer

...*hiuqä änaqämbiyi,*

*yeqä änäyetmepu*

*yatqä ti*

*hiuqä ä-na-q-n-piyi*

*yeqä ä-na-yetma-ät-pu*

*yatqä ti*

eye ASS-1P-act-DETR-23P/DSR

happy ASS-1P-greet-SR-23P/CSR question thus

Addressee

*änekuwi*<sup>64</sup>.

*ä-na-i-k-uwä-i*

ASS-1P-do-PA/PFV-23P/DSO=IND

'...they saw us then welcomed us and asked us this.'

- 218) Locative origin

*Iqu änäuyäma äukäqe.*

*i-qu ä-na-uyäma ä-w-k-qäqä=i*

that=M ASS-1P-depart ASS-go-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND

'He departed from us.'

<sup>63</sup> The *n* -> *ny* is a regular palatalization process before *i* but a few verbs also allow *n* -> *nj*.

<sup>64</sup> Note that although the strong positive assertion *ä-* does not occur before *i* 'do', it resurfaces when an affectee prefix intervenes.

- 219)                                      Experiencer of desire  
*Si buayäŋqä äkingi?*  
*si buayä=ŋqä ä-k-i-n-q-i*  
 2S food=GOAL ASS-2S-do-DETR-PFV-3S/ASO  
 'Do you want (some) food?'
- 220)                                      Recipient  
*Iqu qawä hyquaqu qe äyätapke.*  
*i-qu qawä hn-qu-aqu qe ä-ya-tap-k-qäqä=i*  
 that=M taro INDEF=M-DL CERT ASS-1D-give-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'He gave the two of us two taros.'
- 221)                                      Beneficiary  
*Nami kyuä hui qe äyatuikqäqe.*  
*Nami kyuä hn=i qe ä-ya-tu-i-k-qäqä=i*  
 Naomi sugar INDEF=F CERT ASS-1D-harvest-BEN-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'Naomi harvested some sugarcane for the two of us.'
- 222)                                      Possessive source  
*Iqu ŋqä mbqä änmakäqäqe.*  
*i-qu n=qä mbqä ä-n-ma-k-qäqä=i*  
 that=M 1S=POSS money ASS-1S-get-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'He took my money.'

#### 4.2.1.3 Valence-changing suffix

Three suffixes are available to change the valency of a verb either by increasing (benefactive & causative) or decreasing (detransitivizer) the number of core arguments in the case frame. The first two are, and the third could be, verbs in their own rights, so this pattern probably began as instances of verb compounding. If this historical hypothesis is correct, the suffixes would be an instance of grammaticalization yielding a change in meaning of the morphemes.

Table 24. Valence-changing suffixes with sample derivations.

	Form	Base form	Derived form
benefactivizer	-i	ämätkäqe 'he built (a house)'	änämäsikäqe 'he built for me'
causativizer	-te	ätqäukqe 'he stood up'	ätqätekäqe 'he erected (a post)'
detransitivizer	-n	ämätkäqe 'he built (a house)'	ämätŋgäqe '(a house) stood'

#### Benefactive suffix

A peripheral beneficiary argument, marked with the goal clitic =ŋqä (3.4.3.2), can potentially be added to any proposition without any necessary change in verb morphology or syntax. There is the option, however, of 'promoting' the beneficiary from being a peripheral argument to being the primary object. The

promotion is marked by the verbal suffix *-i* 'BEN', the NP loses its goal clitic, and an affectee prefix is added if the beneficiary is human.

- 223) *Nyi ayi, apiquenyqä ämätätqäqä.*  
*nyi ayä-i ap-i-qu=e-ŋqä ä-mät-ätq-äq-ä*  
 1s house=DEF father=DEF=M=OJ=GOAL ASS-build-PRGV-IPFV-1s/ASO  
 'I am building a house for my father.'<sup>65</sup>

- 224) *Nyi ayi, apique äumäsytätqäqä.*  
*nyi ayä-i ap-i-qu=e ä-w-mät-i-ätq-äq-ä*  
 1s house=DEF father=DEF=M=OJ ASS-3-build-BEN-PRGV-IPFV-1s/ASO  
 'I am building my father a house.'

The following examples show beneficiary promotion with intransitive and ditransitive propositions, *wä* 'lie/be' and *t* 'tell', making them transitive and ditransitive respectively.

- 225) *Tä ŋqä sämniŋqe änäwinä*<sup>66</sup>.  
*tä ŋ-qä s-m-ni-qäqä=ŋqä-i ä-n-wä-i-äq-ä-nä*  
 this 1s=POSS chew-1s/IRR-FUT-1s/DSO=GOAL=DEF ASS-1s-lie-BEN-IPFV-3s/ASO/IPFV=FCS  
 'This is (here) for me, mine for chewing later.' (About newly-made lime powder after relatives have procured most of the product.)

- 226) *Ki si kukyuä änjikqe.*  
*ki si kukyuä ä-n-t-i-k-qäqä-i*  
 3s 2s talk ASS-1s-say-BEN-PA/PFV-3s/DSO=IND  
 'He spoke to you on my behalf.'

The benefactive suffix is the same form as the verb 'do'. Foley (1986:97-98) shows other Papuan languages using the verbs 'give' or 'put' in benefactive constructions. Menya uses the verb 'do' with an affectee prefix for 'give to a third person recipient', so the relationship between the verb 'do' and the benefactive construction is not unique.

### Causative suffix

The causative suffix *-te* can be added to a positional intransitive verb and introduces the causer of the state as the SUBJECT and ACTOR; the positioned entity becomes the AFFECTEE.

<sup>65</sup> A more literal translation, given the phraseology, would be 'The house, I am building for my father,' making 'the house' the topic of the sentence and the 'father' the focal new information.

<sup>66</sup> The deletion of the imperfective aspect morpheme, *-äŋ*, and use of *-ä* as the 3s/ASO suffix instead of the normal *-i* is a consistent feature of the third, singular, stative present form for all verbs that allow stative forms.

- 227) *Yä näŋi ätqäumiŋqe.*  
*yä n=ŋi ä-tqäu-miŋ-qäqä=i*  
 tree level=LOC ASS-stand-PA/IPFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'The tree was standing over there.'
- 228) *Nyi yä qua mäm ätqätekqe.*  
*nyi yä qua m=m ä-tqäu-te-k-qäqä=i*  
 1s post ground below=unseen ASS-stand-CAUS-PA/PFV-1S/DSO=IND  
 'I erected the post in the ground.'

The verb *ip* 'wear' in (229) is one of a small group of verbs that seemingly can only occur in derived forms. When marked with the causative, the causer is the subject and actor, the person wearing the item is the primary object and affectee, and the item worn is the secondary object. Since the primary affectee is a person, an affectee prefix is required. (See the next section for other uses of this verb.)

- 229) *Nyi ymeqä iqueŋi sätäqä äwiptäqä.*  
*nyi ymeqä i-qu=e=ŋi sätäqä ä-w-ip-te-q-ä*  
 1s child that=M=OJ=GVN shirt ASS-3-wear-CAUS-PFV-1S/ASO  
 'I just put a shirt on the child.'

The actual form of the causative suffix varies between *-te*, *-tä* and *-t*. As a main verb, *t* means 'make a vocal noise'<sup>67</sup> and is generally glossed as 'say/tell'. The use of the verb 'say' as a causative is fairly widespread among Papuan languages (Foley 1986:153), especially where the causer is making another animate entity perform. The oddity in Menya, if the causative suffix is a derivative of 'say', is that it can only have the 'cause to be' meaning rather than the 'cause to do.' Bruce (1984) describes Alambalak, a Papuan language unrelated to Menya, as not allowing causatives of transitive verbs but Menya is even more restrictive in only allowing causatives of intransitive positionals (e.g. 'sit', 'stand' 'lean), not of intransitive motion verbs (e.g. 'flee') or of intransitive events (e.g. 'die').

### Detransitivizing suffix

The detransitivizing suffix *-n* covers a wider range of meanings than either of the two valence-increasing suffixes. The dominant use is as a reciprocal/reflexive marker, where the affectee is the same as the actor instead of being distinct (compare (230) with (231)). The number of arguments normally associated with the verb root is reduced by one, producing the functional equivalent of a middle voice.

<sup>67</sup> Noises made by inanimate objects, such as a tree cracking or water boiling, also use this verb but these are being treated as metaphorical extensions of the basic meaning.



- 230) actor object  
*Apäkä hyqua qopi asyä äqäkuwi.*  
*apäkä hn-qu-a qopi asyä ä-q-k-uwä=i*  
 woman INDEF=M=PL coffee wash ASS-act-PA/PFV-23P/DSO=IND  
 'Some women washed the coffee.'

- 231) actor  
*...apäkä hyqua asyä qänätqätangä...*  
*apäkä hn-qu-a asyä q-n-ätq-ät-ang-ä*  
 woman INDEF=M=PL wash act-DETR-PRGV-IPFV-DR-23P/ASO  
 '...some women were bathing...'

There is a single<sup>68</sup> verb, *mät* 'build' that allows this suffix with the effect of removing the actor and promoting the patient, (compare (232) with (223)). The meaning of the resultant verb also changes, from a transitive event to an existential, with the single argument necessarily being the subject and also being coded by the ACTOR suffix on the verb. Example (233) with a dual actor suffix clearly shows that it is the 'houses' that are being referenced<sup>69</sup>. Since it is only this verb that exhibits evidence for a passive voice in Menya, and since passives are generally unknown in Papuan languages, this verb will be treated as idiosyncratic rather than indicative of a norm.

- 232) *Iqueqä ayi näyi ämätmniqä.*  
*i-qu=e-qä ayä=i n-yi ä-mät-n-miḡ-qäqä=i*  
 that=M-OJ=POSS house=DEF level=LOC ASS-build-DETR-PA/IPFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'His house stood (was built) over there.'

- 233) *Hiḡḡuiqänäḡi, ayä hyquaqu iqi ämätnämiḡiyi.*  
*hiḡḡuiqä-näḡä-i ayä hn-qu-aqu i-qi ä-mät-n-miḡ-iyä-i*  
 before-very-DEF house INDEF-M-DL that=LOC ASS-build-DETR-PA/IPFV-23D/DSO=IND  
 'A long time ago, two house stood there.'

Given that both these uses of this suffix operate on the affectee, one might expect that it could not occur with the affectee prefix. This is correct except for some seemingly idiomatic uses. Many of the impersonal verbs (4.1.2.4) are formally detransitive versions of transitive verbs, primarily *i* 'do' and *u* 'shoot', with the experiencer being the subject but also cross-referenced as the affectee by verb prefix.

<sup>68</sup> The verb *q* 'act' may be a second when used in conjunction with the noun *täkgä* 'fence'. When a person erects as fence, the verb 'act' is used and 'fence' is the object. Subject to verification, I believe the detransitivized form of 'act' is used for the existential in 'there is a fence.'

<sup>69</sup> A third, singular actor suffix is also acceptable and perhaps even preferred since plurality is not normally indexed for inanimate referents even on existential verbs.

- 234) *Nyi womba naqänäqä änyiggiyi.*  
*nyi womba naqä-näqä ä-n-i-n-q-i-yi*  
 1s shame big-very ASS-1s-do-DETR-PFV-3s/ASO=QT  
 'I am very ashamed.'

The verb used in the expression 'see' is analyzed (see 4.1.2.2) as the generic verb *q* 'act' marked with the detransitivizing suffix, with or without the overt mention of 'eye' (235). The one seeing is encoded as the actor and the one seen encoded as the affectee. Comparison of (235) with (231), where the verb 'act' is used in the expression meaning 'wash', shows that the only difference in the verb form is the presence of the affectee prefix; this difference disappears when the situation predicated is a general 'looking' without any significant item seen, as in (236).

- 235) *Apäkä hyqua hiuqä qänätqätangä...*  
*apäkä hn-qu=a hiuqä n-q-n-ätq-ät-ang-ä*  
 woman INDEF=M-PL eye 1s-act-DETR-PRGV-IPFV-DR-23P/ASO  
 'Some women were watching me...'

- 236) *Iqu iqi hiuqä äqänä äpmamiq.*  
*i-qu i-qi hiuqä ä-q-n-ä ä-pma-miq-qäqä-i*  
 that=M that=LOC eye ASS-act-DETR-3s/CSR ASS-be-PA/IPFV-3s/DSO=IND  
 'He waited there. (Lit: he remained there looking.)'

The morpheme *n* means 'eat, drink, consume'<sup>70</sup> when used as a verb root. I know of no other language that uses 'eat' as a detransitivizer but am told<sup>71</sup> that the verb 'eat' in Persian is a generic verb with a wide range of meaning depending on the word that occurs with it. Though it would complete the pattern of valence-changing suffixes being the grammaticalization of main verbs, it might be wise to reserve judgment as to whether the detransitivizer is derived from 'eat'. It could also be a reflex of a different verb, accidentally homophonous with 'eat', that no longer exists in the language.

#### 4.2.1.4 Inner aspect suffix

The final item that can occur within the verb nucleus is either one of two morphemes that modify the aspectual nature of the event being predicated. The suffix *-qisä* adds a component of cyclicness to the meaning, usually including a physical motion between two locations to perform the act. The suffix *-mäu* emphasizes the completion of the event. It is quite likely that these two suffixes were also, at least earlier in

<sup>70</sup> Fire is said to 'consume' when it burns something up.

<sup>71</sup> Jila Ghomeshi (personal communication). She uses the term 'light' verbs where I use 'generic'.

the development of the language, verbs in their own right, though there are no clear candidates in the current verb inventory<sup>72</sup>.

In (237), the implication is that the new building is not near the builders residence, therefore, 'commuting' to work is necessary. Since such propositions are inherently durative, there is a frequent co-occurrence (238) of this morpheme with the imperfective (specifically progressive) aspect which will be described in 4.2.1.5. The speaker in (239) is crediting a leader from a neighbouring village with having regularly over the years come to help settle disputes. The overall time frame referred to by *-qisä*, therefore, can vary considerably.

- 237) *Nyi ayä ämätäqisäqä.*  
*nyi ayä ä-mät-qisä-q-ä*  
 1s house ASS-build-to.fro-PFV-1s/ASO  
 'I'm going back and forth house building.'
- 238) *Iqu tä ämeqisätqäüä.*  
*i-qu tä ä-ma-qisä-ätq-äq-ä-uä*  
 that=M firewood ASS-get-to.fro-PRGV-IPFV-3s/ASO/IPFV=FCS  
 'He is going back and forth getting firewood.'
- 239) *Iqu yätamäkkä äneyäqisätqä.*  
*i-qu yätamäkkä ä-na-i-qisä-ätq-äq-qäqä-i*  
 that-m help ASS-1p-do-to.fro-PRGV-IPFV-3s/DSO=IND  
 'He regularly comes to help us.'

The suffix *-mäu* indicates the completion of a process and is often accompanied by the adverbial particle *qäpu*, as in (241).

- 240) ...*hiyqä ängüä emäüwa ti päwiqanqäqunqa...*  
*hiyqä ängüä e-mäü-wa ti p-wä-q-ang-qäqu-nga*  
 urine good put-CMPL-SER/SEM thus come-go.down-PFV-DR-1D/DSO=TIME  
 'we finished urinating well and thus came back down then...'
- 241) ...*hiḡumetqä qäpu ti änmäüäqeqi...*  
*hiḡumetqä qäpu ti ä-n-mäü-äqe=ḡi*  
 corn CMPL thus ASS-eat-CMPL-3s/DSR=GVN  
 'when he has thus finished eating the corn, ...'

<sup>72</sup> The form *mäü* does currently exist as a verb with such diverse meanings that they are treated as homophonous, none of them very common. These include 'come down to earth', 'plant by burying', 'convulse' and 'wear a headband'. The form *qisä* does not seem to occur as a verb at this time.

#### 4.2.1.5 Complexities within the verb nucleus

The verb nucleus has thus far been presented as if the components were always clearly distinguishable and rigidly ordered. In reality, however, there are numerous complexities.

Whereas in the overwhelming number of cases the affectee prefix occurs before the main verb root, there are some instances of derived roots where it can occur before the derivational suffix, with mixed opinions amongst speakers as to which is better and whether there is a meaning difference. In (242), the first variant is the non-derived form with the affectee being the addressee. In the other two variants, the beneficiary suffix has been added with the affectee prefix attached to the verb root in one variant but attached to the beneficiary suffix in the other. This specific example set and translation difference were elicited twenty years ago and may no longer reflect current usage. Similar examples have been elicited recently without meaning differences.

- 242) a. *Iqu kukyuä ändqi.*  
           *i-qu kukyuä ä-n-t-q-i*  
           that=M talk      ASS-1S-say-PFV-3S/ASO  
           ‘He just spoke to me.’
- b. *Iqu kukyuä änjiyqi.*  
           *i-qu kukyuä ä-n-t-i-q-i*  
           that=M talk      ASS-1S-say-BEN-PFV-3S/ASO  
           ‘He just spoke for me.’
- c. *Iqu kukyuä ätänjiyqi*<sup>73</sup>.  
           *i-qu kukyuä ä-t-n-i-q-i*  
           that=M talk      ASS-say-1S-BEN-PFV-3S/ASO  
           ‘He just spoke about me.’

There are verb roots that appear to be complex because of recurring partials, as was mentioned at the end of 4.1.3. One of the most frequent patterns is a number of verbs beginning with *mä*, for which the affectee prefix occurs between this syllable and the remainder of the root, as in (243) where the verb root is entered as *mä\*tuqa* with the ‘\*’ indicating where the affectee prefix actually occurs. A comparison of the two verbs in (244) with the single verb in (245) suggests that *mä* is the verb ‘get’ but this analysis is not as transparent for (243) and other complex verbs like it.

<sup>73</sup> The unexpected *n-i* → *nji* seen here was also noted at (216).

- 243) *Iqu eqä yakä isua qe ämänätuqeqäqe.*  
*i=qu eqä yakä i=pu=a qe ä-na-mä\*tuqa-q-qäqä=i*  
 that=M water bridge that=DIM=PL CERT ASS-1P-show-PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'He showed us the bridge, etcetera.'
- 244) *Äyämäji, balusi du äyäquatqanga,...*  
*ä-ya-ma=ji balusi n=tu ä-ya-quat-q-ayg-nga*  
 ASS-1D-get=GVN plane level=LOC ASS-1D-deliver-PFV-DR=TIME  
 'Having got us, he delivered us to the plane and (we...)'
- 245) *...asä du qe ämänäquatqäqe.*  
*asä n=tu qe ä-ma-na-quat-q-qäqä=i*  
 same level=LOC CERT ASS-get-1P-deliver-PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 '...he delivered us at the same place.'

In (246) there are two affectee prefixes referring to the same persons, one prefixed to the verb root and the other to what appears to be the beneficiary suffix. There is reason to believe that the verb *qumat* in (247) is a causative form of the verb *qäma* 'be', in which case the structure in both these examples is the same. For this second instance at least, the simpler form with only the first affectee prefix, *änaqumatekäqe*, is also acceptable.

- 246) *...apiqua ymequne änatqätänaikuwi.*  
*ap=i-qu=a ymeqä-qu=ne ä-na-tqäü-tä-na-i-k-uwä=i*  
 1's.father=DEF=M=PL child=M=1P ASS-1P-stand-CAUS-1P-BEN?-PA/PFV-23P/DSO=IND  
 '...our fathers stood us up in a line (at the initiation ceremony).'
- 247) *Goti iqu ne qua täu änaqumatänaikäqe.*  
*Goti i=qu ne qua tä-u ä-na-qumat-na-i-k-qäqä=i*  
 God that=M 1P ground this=LOC ASS-1P-place-1P-BEN?-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'God put us on this ground.'

#### 4.2.2 Realis final verbs

The realis final verbs encode the occurrence or non-occurrence of events in past or present tense. Realis final paradigms for the verbs *t* 'say' and *ma* 'get/have' in appendix B.4.1. The structure of these forms is summarized in the following formula, where the parentheses indicate potential occurrence:

realis final → verb nucleus tense/aspect actor p/n (mood)

The mood clitics are the same as those introduced in 2.2. The tense-aspect category is, in all but one instance, indicated by a single portmanteau morpheme. Aspect is the dominant category in that it permeates the verb system whereas tense specification is limited to the realis final verbs. The most common aspect

suffixes do not specify tense and are, therefore, labelled 'neutral'. The primary aspectual distinction is perfective-imperfective but the neutral imperfective is subdivided by the addition of the progressive morpheme, *-ätq*, before the imperfective morpheme. This three-way aspectual distinction, with minor variations in form and meaning, is also used in the irrealis final forms (4.2.3.6) and in the different-referent medials (4.2.4.1). The forms are given in the table below.

Table 25. Tense-aspect suffixes

	Perfective	Imperfective	
		Progressive	Stative
Neutral	<i>-q</i>	<i>-ätq -äŋ</i>	<i>-äŋ</i>
Past	<i>-k</i>	<i>-miŋ</i>	
Remote Past	<i>-ääŋ</i>		

The person and number of the actor for realis finals is indicated by the appropriate member of one of the two sets of suffixes given in Table 26. These same two sets of actor suffixes are, like the neutral aspect suffixes, also used in the realis different-referent medials (4.2.4) and in the irrealis finals (4.2.3.4 & 4.2.3.5). (In the irrealis finals they are the second of two actor suffixes.) The terms 'associative' and 'dissociative' indicate two degrees of relevance between the marked clause and i) the speech act situation for the final forms and ii) the matrix clause on which the DR medial is dependent<sup>74</sup>. Apart from the end-of-quote clitic (5.5.1), no morphemes attach to the associative suffixes.

Table 26. Realis actor suffixes<sup>75</sup>

	Dissociative (DSO)			Associative (ASO)		
	singular	dual	plural	singular	dual	plural
first	<i>-qäqä</i>	<i>-ueä</i>	<i>-qäqu</i>	<i>-ä</i>	<i>-ue</i>	<i>-u</i>
second	<i>-ŋä</i>	<i>-iyä</i>	<i>-uwä</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-iny</i>	<i>-ä</i>
third	<i>-qäqä</i>			<i>-i</i>		

<sup>74</sup> The differences in meaning and usage of these two actor sets is presented in more detail in Whitehead 1991:290-293 and will be explained in the appropriate sections of this grammar.

<sup>75</sup> The seven-form pattern laid out here conforms to that presented in Table 6. It will be noted that the same form is used for 1S/DSO and 3S/DSO, and for 1S/ASO and 23P/ASO but these identities are considered accidental rather than systematic, since they each occur in only one of the actor suffix sets.

The mood clitics are the same as those introduced in 2.2. In accordance with the restriction on morphemes attaching to the associative suffixes, verb forms using them do not bear a mood clitic. Other notes on restrictions on the use of mood markers will be made at appropriate points in the following presentation.

#### 4.2.2.1 Present propositions

Events happening at the time of the speech act are encoded using the associative actor suffixes in combination with the neutral aspect suffixes. This combination is, therefore, labelled as the present though there is no actual present tense morpheme. However, whereas an event that has just happened would be encoded as a past tense in most languages that mark tense, Menya encodes such events as present, using this combination of suffixes. Thus, (248) might be asked of a child who has just come from a fight.

- 248) *Tuqu kpäsqi?*  
*tä-qu k-päk-q-i*  
 this-M 2s-hit-PFV-3s/ASO  
 'Who (just) hit you?'

The lack of the assertion prefix on the verb in this example is systematic; it does not occur on the final verb of a polar question.

#### 4.2.2.2 Past tenses

The neutral aspect suffixes in combination with the dissociative actor suffixes refer to an event that has happened within the past two or three days, and is therefore labelled the Near Past tense.

- 249) *Eqä yakä hiuḡä äquḡäqäque.*  
*eqä yakä hiuḡä ä-w-q-n-q-qäqu-i*  
 water bridge eye ASS-3-act-DETR-PFV-1p/DSO=IND  
 'We saw the bridge over the water. (Referring to an event the previous day.)'

In elicitation and discussion of sentences out of natural context, the Past tense is defined as referring to events more than two or three days and less than ten years prior to the time of utterance. Events more than ten years ago are Remote Past. In natural discourse, however, these time boundaries are not maintained; even legends and historical narratives often only begin in Remote Past tense then switch to Past, and events of the past week may alternate between Past and Near Past forms. The perfective forms of the three past tenses with the non-first plural dissociative actor are given as variants in (250).

- 250) *Iqua wäuyä iquwi.* ~ *ikuwi.* ~ *iiguwi.*  
*i-qu=a wäuyä i-q-uwä=i* *i-k-uwä=i* *i-äy-uwä=i*  
 that=M-PL work do-PFV-23D/DSO=IND do-PA/PFV-23D/DSO=IND do-RPA/PFV-23D/DSO=IND  
 'They worked a few days ago. ~ up to 10 years ago. ~ long ago.'

#### 4.2.2.3 Perfective vs. imperfective

The primary aspectual distinction, perfective versus imperfective, reflects the speaker's choice as to whether to focus attention on the internal temporal complexity of the proposition being encoded (Comrie 1976:21-24). The perfective presents the event as a whole without regard for any internal temporal complexity whereas the imperfective emphasizes the complexity. In (251), the speaker could have used the perfective form *ätäukuwäti* but he is amazed at the work involved and, by using the imperfective, draws attention to the time that must have been involved. A more literal English translation would be 'However were they cutting the rock!' but the force of the English progressive is different from that of the Menya imperfective in final verbs. (The dubitative mood clitic used in this example was introduced in 2.2.4.)

- 251) *Hikä myä änä ipu ätäumiḡuwäti?*  
*hikä myä änä i-ät-pu ä-täu-miḡ-uwä=ti*  
 stone axe<sup>76</sup> how do-SR-23P/CSR ASS-cut-PA/IPFV-23P/DSO=DUBIT  
 'However did they cut the rock!' (to install underground generators at a dam site.)

In the second sentence of (252), the speaker elaborates the event predicated in the first. The focus is now on the details of the shooting process with the types of arrows being specified and the aspect being changed from perfective to imperfective.

- 252) *Nyi iwomä hatḡä qe äpätäukqe.* *Itaygaḡi,*  
*nyi iwomä hatḡä qe ä-pätäu-k-qäqä=i* *i-ät-ayḡ-ḡga=ḡi*  
 1s lizard.sp many CERT ASS-shoot-PA/PFV-1s/DSO=IND do-IPFV-DR=TIME=GVN  
*nyi iwomi yiḡitä hikuisaḡitä äpätäumiḡqe.*  
*nyi iwomä=i yiḡi-tä hikuisaḡä=i-tä ä-pätäu-miḡ-qäqä=i*  
 1s lizard=DEF pronged.arrow=& stun.arrow=DEF=& ASS-shoot-PA/IPFV-1s/DSO=IND  
 'I shot many lizards. And I was shooting the lizards with pronged arrows and blunt arrows.'

#### 4.2.2.4 Progressive vs. stative

Within the present and near past temporal domains, the imperfective is further divided into progressive and stative. The neutral, imperfective morpheme *-äḡ* is common to both but the progressive is indicated by

<sup>76</sup> This term is used of any modern steel tool or machinery.



the addition of the morpheme *-ätq*. The stative refers to events that are unchanging through their duration (254), whereas progressive events either develop or are repeated through time (253).

- 253) *Nyi iquä wiuäyqä inyätqäyuee.*  
*nyi i-qu-tä wiuäyqä i-n-ätq-äy-ueä=i*  
 1s that=M=with anger do-DETR-PRGV-IPFV-1D/DSO=IND  
 'We two were behaving angrily to each other.'
- 254) ...*ne hiuqä äqunanä qe ätqäuyque.*  
*ne hiuqä ä-w-q-n-an qe ä-tqäu-äy-qäqu=i*  
 1P eye ASS-3-act-DETR-1P/CSR CERT ASS-stand-IPFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 '... we were recently standing and watching (= waiting).'

Generally only verbs whose *aktionsart*, or basic aspectual nature, is that of a state can occur in the imperfective without the progressive morpheme. When such a verb is used in the perfective and progressive forms, it refers to the initiation of the state, either as a complex whole or as an event in progress. Thus, the three forms of (255) refer to the act of sitting as a completed event, as an event in progress, and as a resultant state.

- 255) *Ye quamä äpmequee. ~ äpmetqäyuee. ~ äpmequee.*  
*ye quamä ä-pma-q-ueä=i ä-pma-ätq-äy-ueä=i ä-pma-äy-ueä=i*  
 1D seated ASS-be-PFV-1D/DSO=IND ASS-be-PRGV-IPFV-1D/DSO=IND ASS-be-IPFV-1D/DSO=IND  
 'We2 sat down. ~ We2 were (in the process of) sitting down. ~ We2 sat down (were seated).'

Perception verbs are quite frequently used statively, indicating that, to Menya speakers at least, events such as looking and hearing (256) can persist through time without change or development. Often, however, such perception predicates are given as dependent conjuncts with a positional verb, as in (254).

- 256) *Si nyi ti tqaygä äyä änyiyäyn.*  
*si nyi ti t-q-ayg-ä äyä ä-n-i-i-äy-n*  
 2s 1s this say-PFV-DR-1s/ASO just ASS-1s-do-BEN-IPFV-2s/ASO  
 'You've just heard (been listening to) me saying this.'

Occasionally a dynamic verb can be used in stative form with the meaning that the iterative performance of the event is continuing without change, as in (257) which follows talk about the ancestor's method of making grass skirts and the assertion that the custom has not been abandoned. This is in contrast to the normal expression of a habitual act, which uses the near past progressive for ongoing 'habits' (258) and the past imperfective for discontinued ones (259).

- 257) ...*neqä yäqänä imäknägu.*  
*ne=qä yäqä-nä imäk-n-äḡ-u*  
 1P=POSS still=FCS make-DETR-IPFV-1P/ASO  
 '... we are still making our own.'
- 258) *Nyi hia ique iqueḡi qḡqayä ämäyetäḡqe.*  
*nyi hia i-qu=e i-qu=e-ḡi qḡqayä ä-mäye-ätq-äḡ-qäqä=i*  
 1s night that=M-OJ that=M-OJ=GVN door ASS-close-PRGV-IPFV-1s/DSO=IND  
 'I close my door every night.'
- 259) *Nyi hia ique iqueḡi qḡqayä ämäyemiḡqe.*  
*nyi hia i-qu=e i-qu=e-ḡi qḡqayä ä-mäye-miḡ-qäqä=i*  
 1s night that=M-OJ that=M-OJ=GVN door ASS-close-PA/IPFV-1s/DSO=IND  
 'I used to close my door every night.'

#### 4.2.2.5 Contractions of aspect and actor suffixes

Some combinations of neutral aspect and actor suffixes yield morphophonemic effects which mask the underlying morphemes. The neutral perfective *-q* deletes before a second-person singular actor so the present form for the verb *t* 'say', *ä-t-q-n* becomes *ätn* and the near past *ä-t-q-ḡä-i* becomes *ätḡi*. The imperfective progressive *-ätq-äḡ* reduces to *-ätäḡ* before *-qäqä* and *-qäqu*. Also, the first syllable of the morphemes *-qäqä* and *-qäqu* are generally contracted in normal speech and therefore do not appear often in the surface forms. Thus, for instance, if the first-person-dual forms in (255) were changed to first-person-plural, the progressive form *ä-pma-ätq-äḡ-qäqu=i* would surface as *äpmetäḡque*. Finally, in the third-person-singular, present-stative form the imperfective aspect suffix *-äḡ* deletes and the expected actor suffix *-i* interacts with a preceding verb root vowel as if it were *-ä*; for example, for 'he/she is sitting', *ä-pma-äḡ-i* (ASS-be-IPFV-3S/ASO) surfaces as *äpme* and, for 'he/she sees her/him', *ä-w-q-n-äḡ-i* (ASS-3-act-DETR-IPFV-3S/ASO) surfaces as *äqunä*.

#### 4.2.2.6 Past with current relevance

An associative actor suffix in combination with a tensed aspect suffix (past or remote past) is normally rejected and replaced with the equivalent dissociative suffix. In spontaneous text, however, forms with this suffix combination are encountered and the full paradigm can then be elicited. Examples (260) and (261) were both spoken as interruptions of a person telling a story. In the first case, the interrupter felt the need for extra information and, in the second, one of the participants in the narrated events (other than the

narrator) felt it necessary to interject some additional information. The past tense information is maintained but the high relevance to the telling of the story is brought out by using the associative form of the actor suffix.

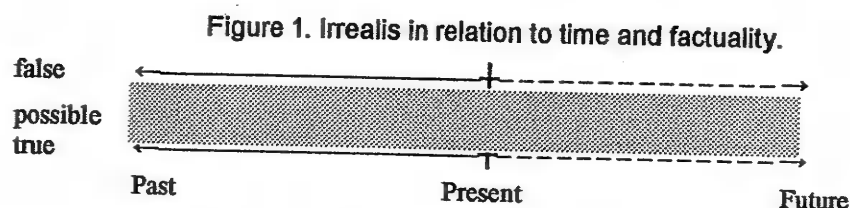
- 260) *Iqu hiuyä äquḡgaḡi äkimaki?*  
*i-qu hiuyä ä-w-q-n-ka=ḡi ä-k-ima-k-i*  
 that=M eye ASS-3-act-DETR-SER/DUR=GVN ASS-2s-meet-PA/PFV-3s/ASO  
 'After he had looked at it, did he come to you?'

 261) *Iqu aḡä huänaḡä iqisa kukḡuä ämätuki.*  
*i-qu aḡä huänaḡä i-ḡi-ta kukḡuä ä-w-mä \*t-k-i*  
 that=M house road that=LOC-from talk ASS-3-inform-PA/PFV-3s/ASO  
 'He corrected her from the doorway.'

#### 4.2.3 Irrealis final: the modalities

Irrealis is the modality of uncertainty (2.3) and is closely associated with weak assertion (4.2.1.1). Menya is one of many languages that does not have a grammaticalized future tense<sup>77</sup>. Rather, all future propositions are encoded as irrealis, capturing the fact that one cannot normally assert the factuality of a future event. Also included as irrealis in Menya are past and present possibilities, contrary-to-fact statements and generic (timeless) statements about classes of animate beings. This is presented symbolically in the following diagramme, where the vertical parameter represents degrees of factuality and the horizontal is the time line. The lower solid arrow represents true propositions about the present and past; the upper solid arrow represents false propositions about the present and past. In Menya these are encoded using positive realis finals and negative realis finals, respectively. Since propositions about the future cannot be definitely true or false, the limits of the factuality parameter are shown as broken lines. All propositions that are not definitely true or false, regardless of time, are within the realm of possibility and are encoded in Menya as irrealis. Irrealis is, therefore, represented in the diagramme by both the dotted lines and the shaded area between the lines. As will be illustrated in the following subsections, elements of both epistemic modality (degrees of possibility) and deontic modality (obligation and necessity) are included under this definition of irrealis.

<sup>77</sup> There is a morpheme *-ni* which occurs in some of the irrealis paradigms and is glossed as 'future' but that morpheme is neither diagnostic of nor restricted to future meaning.



The following formulae, repeated from the beginning of 4.2, show the structure of the irrealis finals<sup>78</sup>:

irrealis final 1 → verb nucleus (aspect) actor  $p/n_1$  ( $nl$ ) ( $\eta q\ddot{a}$  + actor  $p/n_2$ )

irrealis final 2 → verb nucleus (aspect) actor  $p/n_1$  ( $nl$  + actor  $p/n_2$ ) ( $\eta q\ddot{a}$ ) (mood)

The consistent indicator of irrealis modality is the use of a distinct set of actor suffixes occupying the 'actor  $p/n_1$ ' position in these formulae. The actor  $p/n_2$  suffix in these formulae are the associative and dissociative sets, respectively. The forms of the irrealis suffixes are given in Table 27. There is considerable variation in the form of these suffixes from one paradigm to another but not enough to warrant separating them into distinct sets. The intrusive  $t$  in three of the suffixes is required in some irrealis forms but not allowed in others. The  $\ddot{a}$  of the third singular becomes  $-o$  or  $-u$  following perfective  $-q$  and a  $u$  is inserted between the perfective  $-q$  and the first person dual and plural suffixes<sup>79</sup>.

Table 27. Irrealis actor suffix forms.

	singular	dual	plural
first	$m$	$e \sim a$	$an \sim a(tu)$
second	$(i)$	$i(ny)$	$p$
third	$\ddot{a}(t)$		

Since aspect only occurs rarely in irrealis forms, the presentation here will begin with a description of the various modalities without aspect and conclude with a section about the addition of aspect.

<sup>78</sup> These could be combined into a single, longer formula without showing the concurrence requirements. The concurrence constraints (requirements and restrictions) would be considerably more complex with such a formula.

<sup>79</sup> As is pointed out in 4.2.4.2, these form variations are found following the different-referent morpheme,  $-agg$ , so it appears that both  $/q/$  and  $/g/$  condition the change.

### 4.2.3.1 Hortative<sup>80</sup>

The structurally simplest of the modalities consists, minimally, of the verb root and an irrealis actor in any of the three persons. In the second singular, the *-t* actor suffix is omitted or has a zero allomorph, providing, for most verb roots, the only context in which they can occur in isolation. The hortative is the only modality which uses the *a* variant of the first dual suffix. It will also be noted that the second person forms do not bear the *ä-* prefix, but the first and third person forms do. The co-occurrence restriction preventing mood clitics from occurring on verb forms ending with an irrealis actor suffix (2.2) applies with these forms.

Table 28. Hortative forms of the verb *w* 'go'<sup>81</sup>.

	singular	dual	plural
first	<i>äum</i> <i>ä-w-m</i>	<i>äwa</i> <i>ä-w-a</i>	<i>äwan</i> <i>ä-w-an</i>
second	<i>u</i> <i>w-(t)</i>	<i>winy</i> <i>w-iny</i>	<i>upu</i> <i>w-p</i>
third	<i>äwä</i> <i>ä-w-ä</i>	<i>äwiny</i> <i>ä-w-iny</i>	<i>äupu</i> <i>ä-w-p</i>

These forms communicate the speaker's strong exhortation that the actor(s) should perform the event immediately. The second person actor forms are the closest equivalent to the imperative mood of other languages, whereas with first and third person actors they are somewhat equivalent to the hortative and jussive of other languages. The best explanation for distribution of the assertive prefix in this paradigm appears to be that the usage is a reflection of the strong individuality and lack of authority among the Menya. The prefix indicates that the speaker is making a strong positive assertion (4.2.1.1). When the addressee is not included among the exhorted party, the speaker can indicate this strength. When the addressee but not the speaker is the exhorted party, the weaker assertion is made out of deference to the individuality of the person(s). Therefore, the Menya hortative communicates less force than the English imperative mood but more than the English hortatory and jussive forms.

<sup>80</sup> In earlier writings about Menya I have called this modality 'immediate' (since it implies immediacy) to avoid confusion with imperative MOOD found in many languages.

<sup>81</sup> The verb root surfaces as *w* before vowel-initial and *q*-initial suffixes but elsewhere becomes syllabic. In this and subsequent paradigms this distinction helps to highlight the form of the irrealis actor suffix.

In the alternate verb forms in (262) and (263), an additional clitic has been added, giving more force to the exhortation. In form, this clitic is the same as the end-of-quote clitic (5.5.1). It is glossed here as 'focus' because of its different function which is more akin to the focus clitic that marks focal new information within sentences. As will be explained in 5.5.1, the end-of-quote clitic is seen as a special application of the focus clitic.

- 262) *Si täqi pma! ~ pmayä!*  
*si tä=qi pma-t pma-t=yä*  
 2s this=LOC be-2S/IRR be-2S/IRR=FCS  
 'Stay here!'
- 263) *He täqi pmapul ~ pmapiyä!*  
*he tä=qi pma-p pma-p=yä*  
 2P this=LOC be-23P/IRR be-23P/IRR=FCS  
 'Y'all stay here!'
- 264) *Iqua quamä äpmapu.*  
*i=qu=a quamä ä-pma-p*  
 that=M=PL seated ASS-be-23P/IRR  
 '(I insist that) They are to sit down.'
- 265) *Ne aḡä naḡänäḡä hyqu ämätanä.*  
*ne aḡä naḡä-näḡä hn-qu ä-mät-an*  
 1P house big-very INDEF=M ASS-build-1P/IRR  
 '(I insist that) We are to build a very large house.'

It might be expected that a first person singular hortative should be anomalous since one does not normally exhort oneself to action. However, such forms do appear to exist, as in (266). As will be seen in the next section, these could be abilitative forms but the presence of the assertive prefix would lean towards their being interpreted as hortatives.

- 266) *'Ämaḡiyḡä di quwä ämamä' kḡḡuä kiyäniḡe.*  
*ämaḡä=i-qä n-ti quwä ä-ma-m-ä kḡḡuä k-i-ä-ni-qäqä=i*  
 man=OJ=POSS level=there steal ASS-get-1S/IRR-QT thought 2S-do-3S/IRR-FUT-3S/DSO=IND  
 'You will think, "I should steal another's things."'

#### 4.2.3.2 Abilitative

The abilitative modality differs structurally from the hortative in that the morpheme *-n* is added after the irrealis actor suffix. At the present stage of analysis, the *-n* is being considered a contracted variant of

*-ni* which occurs in the future modalities (4.2.3.5) and is tentatively glossed as 'future'<sup>82</sup>. In accordance with the morphophonemic rules given at the end of 1.4, the *-n* deletes following the first person singular *-m*, neutralizing the difference between the hortative and abilitative endings for that person/number. Although these forms do not end with the irrealis actor, they are like the hortatives in that they do not bear a mood clitic.

Table 29. Abilitative forms of the verb *w* 'go'.

	singular	dual	plural
first	<i>um</i> <i>w-m-n</i>	<i>weny</i> <i>w-e-n</i>	<i>wan</i> <i>w-an-n</i>
second	<i>utn</i> <i>w-t-n</i>	<i>winy</i> <i>w-iny-n</i>	<i>upn</i> <i>w-p-n</i>
third	<i>wän</i> <i>w-ä-n</i>		

A considerable range of meanings are covered by these forms. In everyday conversation, they are used to express ability and willingness, as when acceding to a request.

- 267) *Ye e imäkeny.*  
*ye e imäk-e-n*  
 1D thus make-1D/IRR-FUT  
 'We'll do that.'

In a negative verbal phrase (4.3.3) they communicate inability, regardless of the tense. Example (268) indicates a present inability whereas (269) relates to the recent past

- 268) *Hipita iqueŋi, änä mitmeqä da yan.*  
*Hipita i-qu=e-ŋi änä ma-itma-qä da i-a-n*  
 Hipita that=M-OJ=GVN how NEG-get-DVZR indeed do-1P/IRR-FUT  
 'And Hipita, we are not able to get (to help us).'

- 269) *Matiu iqu, hikyängaŋi, iqueqä käyämaqe, mäwimeqä*  
*Matiu i-qu hikyä=ŋga=ŋi i-qu=e-qä kä-yämaq=i ma-w-ima-qä*  
 Matthew that=M youth=TIME=GVN that=M-OJ=POSS 3-relative=DEF NEG-3-come.to-DVZR

<sup>82</sup> It could also be a distinct morpheme, possibly the same as that postulated in 4.2.3.7 to be underlying the prenasalized variants of the mood clitics

*da ipn;...*

*da i-p-n*

indeed DO-23P/IRR-FUT

'When Matthew was a youth his relatives couldn't visit him;...'

In the description of the standard behaviour of animal species, these forms are used to convey a generic meaning, equivalent to the use of the so-called simple present in English. The use of irrealis forms for generalized truths reflects the fact that they are generally but not necessarily always true.

270) *Heqä ii qui yä houyqä iu nyuän.*

*heqä i=i qui yä houyqä i=u mi-ä-n*

*Heqä* that=F egg tree hole that=LOC bear-3S/IRR-FUT

'The *heqä* bird lays its egg in a hole in a tree.'

Frequently, having introduced a trait with an abilitative, the procedural details will be given using the intensive forms described in the next subsection.

#### 4.2.3.3 Intensive

The intensive is the most frequently occurring of the modalities. It differs structurally from the abilitative in that, instead of the *-n* suffix, the goal clitic =*ηqä* (3.4.3) is added after the irrealis actor suffix. The third singular and first plural forms use the *t*-variants of the irrealis actor suffixes. It will also be noted that, again in line with regular morphophonemic rules, the *η* of =*ηqä* deletes after the *-m* of the first singular. These forms do frequently bear a mood clitic, as examples (271) through (273) show.

Table 30. Intensive forms of the verb *w* 'go'.

	singular	dual	plural
first	<i>umqä</i> <i>w-m=ηqä</i>	<i>wegqä</i> <i>w-e=ηqä</i>	<i>watuηqä</i> <i>w-atu=ηqä</i>
second	<i>utηqä</i> <i>w-t=ηqä</i>	<i>wiyäηqä</i> <i>w-iy=ηqä</i>	<i>upηqä</i> <i>w-p=ηqä</i>
third	<i>wätäηqä</i> <i>w-ät=ηqä</i>		

As the label implies, the primary meaning of these forms is the expression of the intention of the actor to perform the event, generally within the next 24 hours.



- 271) *Nyi yŋŋä amäŋqä kukŋuä tmqe.*  
*nyi yŋŋä amä=ŋqä kukŋuä t-m=ŋqä=i*  
 1s bird amä=GOAL talk say-1s/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'I'm going to talk about the amä bird.'
- 272) *Awiŋgaŋi, ye yeqä aŋämqä äkuyäma äyeŋqe.*  
*awiŋga=ŋi ye ye=qä aŋä=m=ŋqä ä-k-uyäma ä-y-e=ŋqä=i*  
 tomorrow=GVN 1D 1D=POSS place=unseen=GOAL ASS-2s-leave ASS-go.up-1D/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'Tomorrow, we're going to leave you and go up to our home.'
- 273) *Nyi änä tmqäwä?*  
*nyi änä t-m=ŋqä=wä*  
 1s how say-1s/IRR=GOAL=INFOQ  
 'How am I going to reply?' (to an unsubstantiated accusation of theft)

The intentives are frequently embedded within a matrix sentence to indicate the purpose of the actor of the main event. The actor of the embedded proposition can be different from that of the matrix proposition, in which case it is the higher actor's intent that is being communicated, as in (275).

- 274) ...*Wau bu uquatätŋqä ätma äwqi.*  
*Wau m-tu w-quat-ät=ŋqä ä-tma ä-w-q-i*  
 Wau down=LOC 3-deliver-3s/IRR=GOAL ASS-get ASS-go-PFV-3s/ASO  
 '...he's taken her to deliver her down at Wau.'
- 275) "*Nyi hmbu daptŋqä äquyepqänä.*"  
*nyi hn-pu n-tap-t=ŋqä ä-quyep-q-ä=nä*  
 1s INDEF=DIM 1s-give-2s/IRR=GOAL ASS-come-PFV-1s/ASO=QT  
 'I've come for you to give me some.'

These forms are also used extensively, along with the abilitatives, in descriptive passages. Frequently an introductory statement will be made using an abilitative followed by elaborative or sequential details of behaviour using the intentives.

The second person forms frequently have the force of a request or mild instruction, as in (276), which is part of the instruction of a man to his new daughter-in-law concerning how to behave when the son's relatives visit.

- 276) *Buayä ämetnä, äwisŋqe.*  
*buayä ä-ma-ät-n ä-w-i-t=ŋqä=i*  
 food ASS-get-SR-2s/CSR ASS-3-do-2s/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'You are to get food and give it to them.'

#### 4.2.3.4 Obligative

The obligative modality, like the intensive, has the goal marker =*ɣqä* after the irrealis actor suffix; it differs in that it adds the appropriate member of the associative actor suffix set at the end<sup>83</sup>. Normally the third singular and first plural irrealis actor suffixes without the *t* are used. As was the case with realis finals ending with an associative suffix, a mood clitic cannot be added to these forms.

Table 31. Obligative forms of the verb *w* 'go'.

	singular	dual	plural
first	<i>umqä</i> <i>w-m=ɣqä-ä</i>	<i>weɣque</i> <i>w-e=ɣqä-ue</i>	<i>waɣqu</i> <i>w-a=ɣqä-u</i>
second	<i>utɣqn</i> <i>w-t=ɣqä-n</i>	<i>wiyäɣqiny</i> <i>w-iny=ɣqä-iny</i>	<i>upɣqä</i> <i>w-p=ɣqä-ä</i>
third	<i>wäɣqi</i> <i>w-ä=ɣqä-i</i>		

The associative actor suffixes on a final verb form indicate a greater degree of association with the speech act situation than do the dissociative suffixes (4.2.2). The obligative modality predicates a proposition that is deemed inevitable, usually with implication for the immediate context. In (277) the pig referred to has died on the journey to the village; (278) was spoken to a child playing in the road, with obvious implication.

- 277) *Yaqueqä häkiyä maɣqä yaɣqunä.*  
*yaqueqä häkiyä ma-n-qä i-a=ɣqä-u-nä*  
 pig cook NEG-eat-DVZR do-1P/IRR=GOAL-1P/ASO=QT

*Qua pteanqunä.*  
*qua pt-e-a=ɣqä-u-nä*  
 ground dig-put-1P/IRR=GOAL-1P/ASO=QT  
 '“We can't cook and eat the pig. We must bury it.”'

- 278) *Katä kápäsäɣqiyä!*  
*katä k-päk-ä=ɣqä-i-yä*  
 car 2s-hit-3s/IRR=GOAL-3s/ASO=FCS  
 'A car will hit you! (so get off the road)'

<sup>83</sup> Given that the goal marker -*ɣqä* has been analyzed as a clitic, it is anomalous to have it followed by the associative suffixes. For a suggested historical explanation of this dilemma and the possibility that in this context the goal morpheme has developed into a suffix, see 5.4.2.2.

#### 4.2.3.5 Futures

There are two sets of forms presented here because they are very similar in form, distribution and meaning. Both sets of forms consist of the verb nucleus followed by the appropriate irrealis actor suffix (non-/t/ variants), the morpheme *-ni*, and the appropriate dissociative actor suffix. They differ in that the 'future intent' forms add the goal clitic =*ɲqä* after the dissociative suffix. Both sets normally bear a mood clitic when in sentence-final position, and speakers consider them interchangeable in that usage. As is shown below, however, they are also embedded to express the purpose of the matrix event and, in this context, the future intent is far more common.

Table 32. Future paradigm of the verb *w* 'go'.

	singular	dual	plural
first	<i>umnique</i> <i>w-m-ni-qäqä=i</i>	<i>wenyuee</i> <i>w-e-ni-ueä=i</i>	<i>wanique</i> <i>w-an-ni-qäqu=i</i>
second	<i>utɲi</i> <i>w-t-n-ɲä=i</i>	<i>winyɲi</i> <i>w-iny-ni-iyä=i</i>	<i>upnuwi</i> <i>w-p-ni-uwä=i</i>
third	<i>wäniqe</i> <i>w-ä-ni-qäqä=i</i>		

Table 33. Future intent paradigm of the verb *w* 'go'.

	singular	dual	plural
first	<i>umnɲqe</i> <i>w-m-ni-qäqä=ɲqä=i</i>	<i>wenyueäɲqe</i> <i>w-e-ni-ueä=ɲqä=i</i>	<i>wanɲqe</i> <i>w-an-ni-qäqu=ɲqä=i</i>
second	<i>utɲäɲqe</i> <i>w-t-n-ɲä=ɲqä=i</i>	<i>winyɲäɲqe</i> <i>w-iny-ni-iyä=ɲqä=i</i>	<i>upnuwäɲqe</i> <i>w-p-ni-uwä=ɲqä=i</i>
third	<i>wänɲqe</i> <i>w-ä-ni-qäqä=ɲqä=i</i>		

The morpheme *-ni* only appears in full before the dissociative suffixes that begin with *q* – the first and third singular and the first plural. In the other forms, the contracted variant *-n* occurs and even this deletes before the second singular actor suffix, *-ɲä*. The composition of the future intent forms is further masked

by the fact that the dissociative suffixes that begin with *q* normally<sup>84</sup> delete before the *=ŋqä*, but the *u* of the first plural is retained in the form of labialization of *ŋq*. The overall underlying composition of the future forms is, therefore, only determinable by analysis of the full paradigm in comparison with the other paradigms.

Examples (279) and (280) are forms without *=ŋqä*; (281) and (282) include it. Both sets encode propositions that are to occur beyond the immediate future. This is normally explained by Menya speakers as meaning more than a day from the time of utterance. As (283) shows, however, the second of two events to occur within the more immediate future time frame can use a future form rather than an intensitive. Example (282) also shows the use of both the intensitive and the future intent forms but the temporal *qänaki* is not explicit about when the subsequent event will happen; it is noteworthy that the two events are out of chronological order, giving the focal, sentence final position to the event about the speaker himself.

- 279) *Suqä iŋä dutaŋi, qänakndaŋi si quamä äyguänäŋä*  
*suqä i=ŋä n=tu=ta=ŋi qänakn-ta=ŋi si quamä äyguä-näŋä*  
 custom that-GVN level-LOC-ORIG-GVN later-ORIG-GVN 2s seated good-very  
*pmaŋi.*  
*pma-t-ni-ŋä-i*  
 be-2s/IRR-FUT-2s/DSO-IND  
 'From that behaviour, later you will live well (=at peace).'
- 280) 'Ämaŋiŋä di quwä ämamä' *kŋŋuä kiyäniŋe.*  
*ämaŋä-i=qä n=ti quwä ä-ma-m-ä kŋŋuä k-i-ä-ni-qäqä-i*  
 man-OJ-POSS level-there steal ASS-get-1s/IRR=QT thought 2s-do-3s/IRR-FUT-3s/DSO-IND  
 'You will think, "I should steal another's things."'
- 281) "Nyi buayi änäpäkonmäniŋŋeŋä" ...  
*nyi buayä-i ä-n-päkon-m-ni-qäqä=ŋqä-i=qä*  
 1s food=DEF ASS-eat-die-1s/IRR-FUT-1s/DSO=GOAL=IND=QT  
 'I will eat the food and die' ...
- 282) *Si qänaki yematäŋäŋqä; ye awiŋga yeŋŋe.*  
*si qänaki ya-ima-t-ni-ŋä=ŋqä ye awiŋga y-e=ŋqä-i*  
 2s later 1D-meet-2s/IRR-FUT-2s/DSO=GOAL 1D tomorrow go.up-1D/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'You will come upon us two later; we two are going up tomorrow.'

<sup>84</sup> See (284) for an exception to this norm.

- 283) *Nyi Menyāmaqä wāmqä; awiyqä aygi*  
*nyi Menyāma=ηqä wā-m=ηqä awiyqä aygi*  
 1s Menyāma=GOAL go.down-1s/IRR=GOAL afternoon again  
*yapmāniηqe.*  
*yap-m-ni-qäqä=ηqä-i*  
 come.up-1s/IRR-FUT-1s/DSO=GOAL=IND  
 'I am going to go to Menyāma; I will return this afternoon'

The paradigm with =*ηqä* is labelled as the future intent by analogy with the intensive form, which also ends with the goal morpheme, and because its forms are more frequently used for embedded purpose clauses than those without =*ηqä*. Example (284) is an instance of this usage; its structure is unusual in that the first plural dissociative suffix has not elided as much as is normal for this paradigm.

- 284) "*Qäuqäyätu hiqäqä wen, ... paniquηquä*  
*qäuqä yä-tu hiqäqä wā-an p-a-ni-qäqu=ηqä*  
 forest up-LOC sleep go.down-1P/IRR-FUT come-1P/IRR-FUT-1P/DSO=GOAL  
*äyanä" ätukäqe.*  
*ä-y-a-n-ä ä-w-t-k-qäqä-i*  
 ASS-go.up-1P/IRR-FUT=QT ASS-3-say-PA/PFV-1s/DSO=IND  
 '“We should go up in order for us to sleep in the forest, ... and (eventually) come down,” I told them.'

#### 4.2.3.6 Aspect in modality

The formulae for the irrealis verb forms (4.2.3) include aspect as an optional element but forms with an aspect suffix are infrequent. All of the irrealis paradigms given above can add one of three aspect suffixes, which are formally and semantically related to the neutral forms and meanings presented in 4.2.2. Whereas the neutral-imperfective morpheme in realis final forms is -*äη*, in the context of irrealis modality the morpheme is -*ät*, yielding the following forms. This second set of forms is also used in different-referent medials (4.2.4).

Table 34. Aspectual morpheme forms

	Perfective	Progressive Imperfective	Stative Imperfective
realis final usage	- <i>q</i>	- <i>ätq</i> - <i>äη</i>	- <i>äη</i>
irrealis final usage	- <i>q</i>	- <i>ätq</i> - <i>ät</i>	- <i>ät</i>

Whereas the perfective-imperfective distinction in realis finals reflects the pragmatic choice of whether or not to focus on the internal temporal complexity of the event, that function in the irrealis finals is

captured by the optionality of use of these morphemes. That is, when the irrealis forms are used without an aspectual morpheme, the situation is presented as a unified whole regardless of internal complexity. In most instances, the use of an aspectual morpheme with irrealis medials i) indicates that the situation predicated persists in time and ii) focusses attention on the aspectual nature of the situation. The forms with the perfective suffix – by far the most frequent -- indicate multiple occurrences of an event through time; the progressive indicates an ongoing dynamic situation and the stative indicates an ongoing static situation<sup>85</sup>. Most textual instances of these forms are in hortative text where the speaker is either exhorting the addressee(s) to habitually behave in a certain way or describing the lasting consequences of the exhorted behaviour.

In (285), a father is addressing his newly married son and daughter-in-law. In the first sentence of this quote, he instructs them to teach their children (when they have some). In the second he emphasizes, using a perfective irrealis form, that this teaching is to be an ongoing process rather than a one time event. The main event in (286) is also a father's instruction but in this instance referring to a state of mind which is to be ongoing and therefore is encoded with the stative aspect marker.

- 285) ...*qe qeqä ymeqeu ämotuqayäyqänä.* *Ämotuquesinä,*  
*qe qe-qä ymeqä-i-u ä-w-mätuqa-iny-yqä-nä ä-w-mätuqa-ät-in*  
 2D 2D-POSS child-DEF-LOC ASS-3-show-23D/IRR=GOAL-FCS ASS-3-show-SR/23D/CSR  
*hia ique ique e motuqeqiyyqänä.*  
*hia i-qu=e i-qu=e e w-mätuqa-q-iny-yqä-nä*  
 night that=M-OJ that=M-OJ thus 3-show-PPV-23D/IRR=GOAL-FCS  
 '...you two are going to teach your children. Teaching, you are to go on teaching them every day.'
- 286) *ne... etätuqge, qäuygä mamäsäupu pmetpyqe.*  
*ne e-t-ätq-äy-qäqu=i qäuygä ma-mäsäu-pu pma-ät-p-yqä=i*  
 1P 2P-tell-PRGV-IPFV-1P/DSO-DEF memory get-fasten-23P/CSR be-IPFV-23P/IRR=GOAL-IND  
 'What we now tell you, live with it fastened in your memory (lit. fasten it in your memory and live).'

These forms can also be used in the description of generic behaviour of animals. In examples (287) and (288), the same speaker is talking about the white cockatoo and the hawk, respectively. Note that, in the first, he uses an aspect-marked intensive form but, in the second, he uses a non-aspectual future form. In

<sup>85</sup> Jordan (ms. 30) analyzes what I am calling the perfective suffix in irrealis forms as being a 'repetitive future tense/aspect indicator' whereas in the realis final forms he analyzed it as the 'present factual morpheme'. He gives no indication that imperfective variants of the irrealis finals exist.

both cases, the travels will continue for a time but, seemingly, only the first emphasizes this element of meaning.

- 287) *Naqä äyā eqaygaŋi, kănatăn kădăn ană*  
*naqä äyā e-q-ayg=ŋga=ŋi kă-na=tă=nă kă-an=tă=nă ană*  
 big just be-PFV-DR=TIME=GVN 3-mother-&=FCS 3-father-&=FCS with

*ikiqăpŋqănă.*

*ikă-q-p=ŋqă=nă*

tour-PFV-23P/IRR=GOAL=FCS

'When it's grown big, the mother and father will travel around with it.'

- 288) ...*naqä imănăqe, kănatăŋi ană ikănyiyăŋqă.*  
*naqä imăn-ăqe kă-na=tă=ŋi ană ikă-ny-ni-iyă=ŋqă*  
 big be-3S/DSR 3-mother-&=GVN with tour-23D/IRR-FUT-23D/DSO=GOAL

'...it becomes big then will travel around with its mother.

### Permissive

There are two other uses of the forms combining aspect suffixes with irrealis actor suffixes that do not fit with the preceding characterization. Intensive and abilitative forms with the perfective are sometimes used to predicate a single occurrence of an event in the future, frequently at a specified time. These forms convey a permissive function. In (289), a police officer is setting the time when a woman can travel, specifying that a dispute with her son (the actor referred to in the first clause) must first be settled.

- 289) *Kiqă kiuănă äqayepătqănă, iŋga tuqayqă;*  
*ki=qă ki=uă=nă ä-qayep-ăt-qă=nă i=ŋga w-t-an=ŋqă*  
 3S=POSS 3S=POSS-FCS ASS-come.down-3S/IRR-GEN=FCS that=TIME 3-tell-1P/IRR=GOAL

*iŋga păwăqoŋqă.*

*i=ŋga p-wă-q-ă=ŋqă*

that=TIME come-go.down-3S/IRR=GOAL

'Whenever he himself comes, at that time we can talk with him; at that time she can go down.'

### Present dubitative

The other anomalous set of forms is used to express uncertainty about a present situation, hence the label 'present dubitative'. They are similar in form to the realis present forms in that they use the assertive prefix and require an aspect suffix. They differ in that they use the irrealis actor suffixes and must bear the dubitative mood clitic. This is the only construction in which the irrealis suffix and a mood clitic occur without an intervening suffix. In (290) the speaker is talking about a mythical snake which left their area some years ago and was last known to be heading in the direction of Aiyura.

- 290) *Ayutä tägä yäñi asqi äwitäti, täñgäñi.*  
*Ayutä tägä yä=ñi äk=qi ä-wä-ät-ä=ti tä=ñga=ñi*  
 Aiyura near up=LOC which=LOC ASS-lie-IPFV-3S/IRR=DUBIT this=TIME=GVN  
 'He may be up near Aiyura now.'

#### 4.2.3.7 Contrary-to-fact

Contrary-to-fact forms predicate events that might have happened had circumstances been different. That being the case, they fall clearly within the definition of Menya irrealis given at the beginning of 4.2.3. They consist of the verb nucleus (unmarked for positive polarity, as is the norm for irrealis forms), the perfective aspect suffix, an irrealis actor suffix, the *-ni* suffix (as found in the future modal forms) and usually a mood clitic. The mood clitic is always prenasalized (=ñji, =ñgä, =nda, =ndi) possibly indicating the presence of an additional *-n* morpheme, which may be that which occurred at the end of the abilitative forms (4.2.3.2).

Table 35. Indicative contrary-to-fact forms of the verb *ma* 'get'.

	singular	dual	plural
first	<i>meqäminji</i> <i>ma-q-m-ni=ñji</i>	<i>mequenyinji</i> <i>ma-q-e-ni=ñji</i>	<i>mequaninji</i> <i>ma-q-an-ni=ñji</i>
second	<i>meqätinji</i> <i>ma-q-t-ni=ñji</i>	<i>meqinyinji</i> <i>ma-q-iny-ni=ñji</i>	<i>meqäpninji</i> <i>ma-q-p-ni=ñji</i>
third	<i>meqoninji</i> <i>ma-q-ä-ni=ñji</i>		

The condition that would have enabled the contrary-to-fact event is encoded as a nominalized clause followed by the conjunction *säpi* or *säpiqäm*, which is used only in this context. Example (291) is part of the defence of a man accused of stealing from another's garden. In the absence of solid evidence he had refused to pay any compensation. The subsequent example is the corresponding question that could be asked of the man.

- 291) ...*iqu änyimeqä säpi, nyi moni uyqäminji.*  
*i-qu ä-n-ima-qä säpi nyi moni w-i-q-m-ni=ñji*  
 that-M ASS-1S-meet-DVZR CTF 1s money 3-do-PFV-1S/IRR-FUT=IND  
 '...if he had come upon me..., I would have given him money.'



- 292) *Iqu äkimeqä säpi, ique moni uyqätninda?*  
*i=qu ä-k-ima-qä säpi i=qu=e moni w-i-q-t-ni-n=ta*  
 that=M ASS-2S-meet-DVZR CTF that=M-OJ money 3-do-PFV-2S/IRR-FUT-?=POLQ  
 'If he had come upon you, would you have given him money?'

#### 4.2.3.8 Frustrative

The frustrative irrealis finals predicate an unfulfilled intention. They are actually a composite of two verb forms which appear to have frozen and are now spoken, perceived and written as a single verb; there is no evidence that native speakers recognize the two components of these forms. The first component is a first person abilitative form (4.2.3.2) of the semantically main verb, agreeing only in number with the actor. The second component is a form of the verb 'say' also bearing an actor suffix but agreeing in both person and number with the actor. To this composite is added the appropriate mood clitic. In Table 36, the forms are shown broken down into these three components, rather than into individual morphemes. The first component is clearly the first person forms of the abilitative (Table 29). The second component bears a striking similarity both to the abilitative forms of the verb 'say' (Appendix B.4.2) and to the SR coordinate simultaneous forms of the verb 'say' (Appendix B.4.4).

Table 36. Indicative frustrative forms of the verb *w* 'go'

	singular	dual	plural
first	<i>umätmnji</i> <i>um ätm nji</i>	<i>wenyätenji</i> <i>weny äte nji</i>	<i>wanätanji</i> <i>wan ätan nji</i>
second	<i>umätnji</i> <i>um ätn nji</i>	<i>wenyäsinji</i> <i>weny äsiny nji</i>	<i>wanätpinji</i> <i>wan ätp nji</i>
third	<i>umätänji</i> <i>um ätä nji</i>		

In spontaneous usage, there is a clear inference that the event will not take place, hence the label 'frustrative'. In elicitation sessions, however, the indicative forms are treated as having the same meaning as the equivalent intensive form of the main verb and there is nothing in the composition of these forms to indicate that the intention is unfulfilled.

Examples (293) and (294) show the frustrative in indicative and polar interrogative moods, respectively.

- 293) *Iquaqu wäuyä yenyäsinji.*  
*i-qu=aqu wäuyä i-e-n-ä-t-iny-nji*  
 that=M-DL work do-1D/IRR-FUT-QT-say-23D/IRR=IND  
 'They two were intending to work today.' (or 'They said "we two are going to work today."'')
- 294) *Hquauä di quwä maḡi, hquauä*  
*hn-qu=a-u-uä n-ti quwä ma-ḡi hn-qu=a-u-uä*  
 INDEF=M-PL-OJ=POSS level=LOC steal get=GVN INDEF=M-PL=POSS  
*wimätndanä?*  
*w-i-m-n-ä-t-n-ta-nä*  
 3-do-1S/IRR-FUT-QT-say-2S/IRR=POLQ=FCS  
 'Having stolen some people's (wives), were you intending to give them as others' (wives)?'

Just as the other intensive forms can be embedded within a clause to indicate its purpose, so the frustrative can be embedded to encode a frustrated purpose, as in (295).

- 295) *Ämaqä iqu hiyandqä ique yi humätä*  
*ämaqä i-qu hiyandqä i-qu=e yi h-u-m-n-ä-t-ä*  
 person that=M cassowary that=M-OJ arrow NEU-shoot-1S/IRR-FUT-QT-say-3S/IRR  
*äpmiḡqe.*  
*ä-p-miḡ-qäqä-i*  
 ASS-come-PA/IPFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'The man was coming intending to shoot the cassowary.'

This embedded use probably indicates the source of the frustratives. If the verb *humätä* were to be pronounced and recognized as two verb forms rather than one, (295) could be reanalyzed as containing an embedded quote clause yielding (296).

- 296) *Ämaqä iqu "Hiyandqä ique yi hum" ätä*  
*ämaqä i-qu hiyandqä i-qu=e yi h-u-m-n ä-t-ä*  
 person that=M cassowary that=M-OJ arrow NEU-shoot-1S/IRR-FUT ASS-say-3S/IRR  
*äpmiḡqe.*  
*ä-p-miḡ-qäqä-i*  
 ASS-come-PA/IPFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'Saying "I can shoot the cassowary," the man was coming.'

The frustratives would have originally been formed by the elision of the matrix final verb (perhaps the verb 'do' in its pro-verb sense: 'I did (what I did) saying "...")<sup>86</sup>. The sentential mood clitic would then attach to the medial form of the verb 'say', yielding what now functions as a final verb paradigm<sup>87</sup>.

<sup>86</sup> A similar explanation for the historical development of the intensive and future intent forms (and subsequently the obligatives) is proposed in 5.4.2.2.

<sup>87</sup> In normal speech, there is no break between the head word of the quote and the speech verb following it (the *hum*

#### 4.2.4 Medial verbs

The medial verbs are non-finite forms that are used as the primary means for combining clauses into complex sentences. They are dependent on the final verb in the sentence for tense and in some instances for mood. They are differentiated on three parameters: identity of reference, reality and structural relationship.

The reference parameter (same referent vs. different referent) tracks the identity of the topical entity (which is generally but not always the CLAUSE TOPIC) by indicating whether or not the topical entity of the marked clause retains its topical status. (The details of this parameter are presented in 5.1.2.)

The reality parameter (realis vs. irrealis) indicates the degree of certainty or specificity of the predication and is independent of the tense and reality status of the final clause; the realis forms are the unmarked or normal choice for individuated propositions regardless of tense, whereas the irrealis forms explicitly indicate either i) that there is some doubt as to whether a specific situation will actually occur or ii) that the situation is a generalization translatable by 'whenever', 'wherever', etc.

The structural parameter (subordinate vs. dependent vs. coordinate) encodes the syntactic relationship of the marked clause with its matrix (normally the following) clause, indicating the relative prominence which the speaker assigns to the various clauses.

##### 4.2.4.1 Realis DR medials

The different-referent medials use much of the same morphology as do the final verbs, for both realis and irrealis forms. The distinctive feature of DR medials is the addition of the morpheme *-aŋg*<sup>88</sup> between the aspect and actor suffixes, yielding the following formula:

DR medial → verb nucleus aspect *-aŋg* actor (subordinator)

There are two sets of realis DR medials, differing in both morphology and syntax. The Subordinate DR medials, which are by far the more frequent (3:1 in a selection of varied texts), use the dissociative actor suffixes (Table 26 in 4.2.2) and are always subordinated by either a case-marking clitic or a case-marked

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*ātā* sequence of (296)); it would not then be a major phonological shift for them to become treated as one word.

<sup>88</sup> The southern, or Tnauyqa, dialect often reduces the DR morpheme *-aŋg* to *-a*, yielding, for example, the variant *meqauwānga* for the 23P form of the subordinate temporal in Table 37.

demonstrative showing the clause's role in or relationship to its matrix clause<sup>89</sup>. The Coordinate DR medials use the associative actor suffix (reflective of the closer relationship between the marked and matrix clauses) and allow no further suffixation. The DR medial forms are, with few exceptions, not marked with the assertion prefix, *ä-* (4.2.1.1), but those that would otherwise be vowel-initial are marked with the neutral prefix, *h-*, as is the case for the irrealis finals.

Table 37. Perfective forms of realis subordinate DR medials for the verb *ma* 'get'.

	singular	dual	plural
first	<i>meqanḡäqäḡga</i> <i>ma-q-aṽg-qäqä=ṽga</i>	<i>meqanḡueäḡga</i> <i>ma-q-aṽg-ueä=ṽga</i>	<i>meqanḡäquḡga</i> <i>ma-q-aṽg-qäqu=ṽga</i>
second	<i>meqanḡṽäḡga</i> <i>ma-q-aṽg-ṽä=ṽga</i>	<i>meqanḡiyäḡga</i> <i>ma-q-aṽg-iyä=ṽga</i>	<i>meqanḡuwäḡga</i> <i>ma-q-aṽg-uwä=ṽga</i>
third	<i>meqanḡäqäḡga</i> <i>ma-q-aṽg-qäqä=ṽga</i>		

Table 38. Perfective forms of realis coordinate DR medials for the verb *ma* 'get'.

	singular	dual	plural
first	<i>meqanḡä</i> <i>ma-q-aṽg-ä</i>	<i>meqanḡue</i> <i>ma-q-aṽg-ue</i>	<i>meqanḡu</i> <i>ma-q-aṽg-u</i>
second	<i>meqanḡn</i> <i>ma-q-aṽg-n</i>	<i>meqanḡiny</i> <i>ma-q-aṽg-iny</i>	<i>meqanḡä</i> <i>ma-q-aṽg-ä</i>
third	<i>meqanḡi</i> <i>ma-q-aṽg-i</i>		

#### 4.2.4.1.1 Subordinate DR forms

The subordinate forms in Table 37 bear the temporal clitic =*ṽga* which is by far the most common subordinator for the DR medials and indicates that it is the temporal relationship between the clauses that is relevant. The first and third singular forms of the Subordinate temporal are often elided to *meqanḡga*, and the first plural to *meqanḡua*<sup>90</sup>.

<sup>89</sup> By analogy with the irrealis DR forms 4.2.4.2, forms lacking a case-marker but bearing the 'definite' clitic *-f* would be expected but only one or two such forms have ever been recorded or elicited.

<sup>90</sup> Some younger speakers have also been heard eliding the second/third plural form to this form. These elisions could

The aspect morphemes used in all the DR medials are the variants used in the irrealis finals, displayed in Table 34. In these forms, the meaning of the three aspect categories indicate the temporal relationship with the matrix situation, in addition to the base meanings that they have in the realis finals. The perfective normally indicates that the matrix situation follows the DR event (297), the progressive imperfective that the matrix situation is simultaneous with a DR dynamic event (298), and the stative imperfective that the matrix situation is simultaneous with a DR state (299). Simultaneous here encompasses complete and partial overlap with, and containment within, the imperfective situation.

- 297) *Quti timäuqanguwänga iqu ti ätukäqe.*  
*qu tä-i timäu-q-ang-uwä-nga i-qu tä-i ä-w-t-k-qäqä=i*  
 3P this=DEF arrive-PFV-DR-23P/DSO=TIME that=M this=DEF ASS-w-tell-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'When they thus arrived, he told them this.'
- 298) *...iquaqu kukyuä tätqätangiyänga äwimeqe,...*  
*i-qu-aqu kukyuä t-ätq-ät-ang-iyä-nga ä-w-ima-äqe*  
 that=M-DL talk say-PRGV-IPFV-DR-23D/DSO=TIME ASS-3-meet-3S/DSR  
 '...when they two were talking he came upon them and...'
- 299) *Iqua qätä pänütanguwänga nyi ti ätukäqe.*  
*i-qu-a qätä pän-ät-ang-uwä-nga nyi ti ä-w-t-k-qäqä=i*  
 that=M-PL ear listen-IPFV-DR-23P/DSO=TIME 1S thus ASS-3-tell-PA/PFV-1S/DSO=IND  
 'While they were listening I said this to them.'

However, as (300) shows, this relative-tense element of meaning is secondary to the base meaning of the aspect morphemes; the speaker chooses to encode the rain as a perfective event even though it was ongoing through the journey encoded in the matrix clause. It appears that the speaker can only focus attention on the internal temporal complexity of the situation (by using an imperfective form) if the matrix event is to some extent simultaneous with it. But a durative situation can be presented as a whole (using a perfective form) regardless of the timing relationship between the marked and matrix clauses. In other words, a perfective form, being the default aspect, can be used regardless of the temporal relationship but an imperfective form can only be used when some degree of simultaneity is involved and the speaker wishes to emphasize that fact.

- 300) *Piyä yaqiyqangani, ye tnäqä qe äpekuee.*  
*piyä ya-q-q-ang-nga=ni ye tnäqä qe ä-p-y-k-ueä=i*  
 rain 1D-act-PFV-DR=TIME=GVN 1D quickly CERT ASS-come-go.up-PA/PFV-1D/DSO=IND  
 'While it was raining on us, we went up quickly.'

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be considered to involve the use of the *-a* variant of *-nga* mentioned in fn.88.

Whereas the overwhelming majority (90% in a text count) of DR Subordinates are marked as temporally subordinate, there is actually a wide range of potential subordinators. In (301) the goal clitic =*ŋqä* indicates that the subordinated clause is the point of reference that motivates the actor of the matrix clause. In (302) the definiteness and locative suffixes combine to subordinate the medial clause as a locative within the matrix clause.

- 301) "Nyi *moniŋqä* *tuqanŋäqäŋqä*, *iqu* *yä* *itä*  
 nyi *moni=ŋqä* *w-t-q-aŋg-qäqä=ŋqä* *i=qu* *yä* *i-ät-ä*  
 1s money=GOAL 3-tell-PFV-DR-1s/DSO=GOAL that=M fear do-SR-3s/CSR  
*ätqiyä*."  
*ä-t-q-i-yä*  
 ASS-say-PFV-3s/ASO=QT  
 ' "Because I spoke to him about money, he is hiding the truth." (Lit: afraid and talking.)'

- 302) *ämaqä* *hŋqu* *pmetanŋäqeu* *qe* *änäquatmäuqe*.  
*ämaqä* *hn=qu* *pma-ät-aŋg-qäqä=i-u* *qe* *ä-na-quat-mäu-q-qäqä=i*  
 person INDEF=M be-IPFV-DR-3s/DSO=DEF-LOC CERT ASS-1P-deliver-CMPL-PFV-3s/DSO=IND  
 'He left us where a man was sitting.'

#### 4.2.4.1.2 Coordinate DR forms

The perfective forms of the coordinate DR medials were presented in Table 38 and equivalent paradigms for the progressive and stative forms are given in Appendix B.4.3. The aspectual distinctions are the same as for the subordinate forms above. Whereas the semantic relationship between the subordinate DR medials and their matrix clause is always shown by a case marking clitic, that of the coordinate DR clauses is not shown. The associative actor suffix indicates that the two are in a close relationship (cf. 2.4 and 5.2.3). The primary function of the coordinate forms is to present a series of clauses as a complex of equals, rather than subordinating all but one. In (303), the actors of the first clause (which has a dependent SR medial and is dependent on the complex that follows) split into three separate activities presented in a complex of three coordinated clauses. The coordinate medials in the first two clauses indicate the coordinate relationship and the final-verb suffixation on the verb of the last clause indicates the status of the whole complex.

- 303) *Ne qäuqä yätu ätimäuni, ämaqä hyqua akuäqäyqä hiuyä*  
*ne qäuqä yä=tu ä-timäu-ani ämaqä hn-qu=a akuäqä=yqä hiuyä*  
 1P forest up=LOC ASS-arrive-1P/DSR man INDEF=M=PL pandanus=GOAL eye
- qunäkitqätaygä, hyqua tä*  
*w-q-n-ikä-ätq-ät-ayg-ä hn-qu=a tä*  
 3-act-DETR-tour-PRGV-IPFV-DR-23P/DSO INDEF=M=PL wood
- meqisätqätaygä, ne hyqune ayä hiqaqäyqä*  
*ma-qisä-ätq-ät-ayg-ä ne hn-qu=ne ayä hiqaqä=yqä*  
 get-to&fro-PRGV-IPFV-DR-23P/DSO 1P INDEF=M=1P house sleep=GOAL
- ämätkuque.*  
*ä-mät-k-qäqu=i*  
 ASS-build-PF/PFV-1P/DSO=IND
- 'We arrived up in the forest and then some men went looking for pandanus nuts, some gathered firewood and some of us made a sleeping shelter.'

#### 4.2.4.2 Irrealis DR medials

The irrealis DR medials also come in subordinate and coordinate varieties, each potentially with any of the three aspects. They use the irrealis actor suffixes given in Table 27 but with the high back vowel modifications described there as occurring after perfective *-q*. The 'generic' DR medials in Table 39 are the subordinate forms, differing from their realis equivalents (Table 37) in that they add the suffix *-tqä* between the (irrealis) actor suffix and the subordinator. The range of subordinators is the same as for the realis subordinators. The 'dubitative' DR medials (Table 40) are the coordinate forms and, after the actor suffix, add the dubitative clitic *=ti* (2.2.4) from which they derive their label.

Table 39. Perfective of the generic (temporal subordinate) irrealis DR forms of the verb *ma* 'get'.

	singular	dual	plural
first	<i>meqaygmäqäyga</i> <i>ma-q-ayg-m-tqä=yga</i>	<i>meqayguesqäyga</i> <i>ma-q-ayg-e-tqä=yga</i>	<i>meqayguatqäyga</i> <i>ma-q-ayg-a-tqä=yga</i>
second	<i>meqaygätqäyga</i> <i>ma-q-ayg-t-tqä=yga</i>	<i>meqaygisqäyga</i> <i>ma-q-ayg-i-tqä=yga</i>	<i>meqaygäpqäyga</i> <i>ma-q-ayg-p-tqä=yga</i>
third	<i>meqaygutqäyga</i> <i>ma-q-ayg-ä-tqä=yga</i>		

Table 40. Perfective of the dubitative (coordinate) irrealis DR forms of the verb *ma* 'get'.

	singular	dual	plural
first	<i>meqaygmdi</i> <i>ma-q-ayg-m=ti</i>	<i>meqayguesi</i> <i>ma-q-ayg-e=ti</i>	<i>meqayguati ~ meqayguandi</i> <i>ma-q-ayg-a(n)=ti</i>
second	<i>meqaygäti</i> <i>ma-q-ayg-t=ti</i>	<i>meqaygisi</i> <i>ma-q-ayg-i=ti</i>	<i>meqaygäpi</i> <i>ma-q-ayg-p=ti</i>
third	<i>meqayguti</i> <i>ma-q-ayg-ä=ti</i>		

The use of irrealis medial forms is not conditioned by the reality status of the matrix or final clause. When predicating specific future events, it is normally realis medials that are used, their future status being supplied by the final verb as in (304). Thus, the realis medials are the 'unmarked' choice (cf. 4.2.4), saying in effect that the marked clause is only as real as the final clause of the sentence.

- 304) *Piyä hukä iqayga äkiuyäma umqe.*  
*piyä hukä i-q-ayg=iga ä-k-uyäma w-m=igä=i*  
 rain stop do-PFV-DR=TIME ASS-2S-leave go-1S/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'When the rain stops I'm going to leave you.'

The generic forms, as the name implies, can be used to predicate a generalization about future events that can occur repeatedly. These can usually be best translated using 'whenever', 'wherever', 'whoever', etc., depending on the form of the subordinator, indicating 'on every occasion'.

- 305) ...*etqayguatqä duqi, qätä äneyäpu*  
*e-t-q-ayg-a-tqä n-tu=qi qätä ä-na-i-i-ät-pu*  
 2P-tell-PFV-DR-1P/IRR-GEN level=LOC=GVN ear ASS-1P-do-BEN-SR-23P/CSR  
*imäkqäpnä.*  
*imäk-q-p-n*  
 make-PFV-23P/IRR-FUT  
 '...in whatever we teach you, you are to go on listening to us and doing it.'
- 306) *Yaqä nayqaygutqäyngani,...* *ämaqä puqä tgeuqä*  
*yaqä na-i-q-ayg-ä-tqä=nga=qi ämaqä puqä t-qä=i-u=igä*  
 sick 1P-do-PFV-DR-3S/IRR-GEN=TIME=GVN person blow say-DVZR=DEF=LOC=GOAL  
*watuqä.*  
*w-atu=igä*  
 go-1P/IRR=GOAL  
 'Whenever we get sick we will go to the healer (lit. person who blows).'

These forms are also used to specifically indicate that the likelihood of the marked situation is questionable, somewhat equivalent to 'in the event that...'. In such cases there is no case or role marking



subordinator but the form ends in *-tqe* rather than *-tqä*. This could be either a word-final variant of the same morpheme or the cliticization of the demonstrative *=i* comparable to the definite marking of NPs described in 3.3.3.1<sup>91</sup>. The latter option will be taken here. The relationship between these clauses and their matrix will be described as dependent rather than subordinate, paralleling the situation for the same-referent medials (4.2.4.3).

- 307) "...*tqangutqe*, ...      *täqinyqä*      *quyepqäpɣqä*.  
*t-q-ayg-ä-tqä=i*      *tä=qi=ɣqä*      *quyep-q-p=ɣqä*  
 say-PFV-DR-3S/IRR-GEN=DEF this=LOC=GOAL come.down-PFV-23P/IRR=GOAL  
 'in the event that he says "...", ...you should come down here.'

The dubitative forms also express doubt about the likelihood or reality of the situation, which is in accordance with other uses of the dubitative mood clitic. They differ from the use of the generic forms illustrated in (307) in that they coordinate the marked clause with their matrix just as the realis coordinate DR forms do. In (308), the speaker is talking about traditional fighting customs; a temporal generic form could be used in this sentence yielding 'Whenever...' which would subordinate the first clause to the second instead of keeping them in a more coordinate relationship.

- 308) *Qu hɣqu päsqangäpi,*      *qu hɣqu päkpänuwäɣqä*.  
*qu hn=qu päk-q-ayg-p-ti*      *qu hn=qu päk-p-ni-uwä=ɣqä*  
 they INDEF=M kill-PFV-DR-23P/IRR=DUBIT they INDEF=M kill-23P/IRR-FUT-23P/DSO=GOAL  
 'Supposing they<sub>i</sub> killed one person<sub>i</sub>, they<sub>j</sub> would kill one person<sub>i</sub>.'

A natural English equivalent of the uses of the irrealis medials is the conditional 'if' but generally the translation of English or Tok Pisin conditional clauses contain a realis medial as in (304), where the doubt is not made explicit but inferred from the irrealis final. A more accurate equivalent would therefore be a conditional with an emphatic "IF..." reflecting a serious doubt about the eventuality of the situation.

#### 4.2.4.3 Realis SR medials

In contrast to the DR medials, the Same-Referent medials do not have much in common morphologically with the final verb forms. Following the verb nucleus there is generally no aspect suffix and the actor suffixes are one of two sets not used elsewhere. In the few forms that do bear an aspect suffix,

<sup>91</sup> It could also be the indicative mood clitic *-i* which would parallel the use of the dubitative mood clitic *-ti* in the formation of the coordinate irrealis DR medials. See Whitehead 1999ms for discussion of whether the various uses of the morpheme *i* constitute a case of homophony or polysemy.

it is distinct in both form and meaning from those introduced so far. There are four sets of realis SR medials distinguished primarily by the choice of actor suffix set (dependent SR suffixes vs. coordinate SR suffixes) and the presence or absence of an additional morpheme *-ät* immediately before the actor suffix. Two of the four sets, those using the DSR actor suffixes, allow a subordinator showing the relationship between the marked and matrix clauses, as did the subordinate DR medials. All the SR medial forms are, with few exceptions, marked with the assertion prefix, *ä-* (4.2.1.1).

Realis SR medial → verb nucleus (aspect) (*-ät*) actor (subordinator)

The forms of the two sets of SR actor suffixes are given in Table 41. There are two variants of the Dependent SR (DSR) first person plural set with no functional difference given by speakers or detected in spontaneous usage. There are obvious parallels in form between these sets (especially the coordinate) and the irrealis actor set given in Table 27 but not enough to merge them.

Table 41. Same-referent Actor Suffixes

	Dependent SR (DSR)			Coordinate SR (CSR)		
	singular	dual	plural	singular	dual	plural
first	<i>-mi</i>	<i>-ayi</i>	<i>-ani ~ -aqe</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-an</i>
second	<i>-yi</i>	<i>-iyi</i>	<i>-piyi</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-(i)ny</i>	<i>-pu</i>
third	<i>-äqe</i>			<i>-ä</i>		

#### 4.2.4.3.1 Dependent & subordinate SR forms

The four SR realis paradigms are given in Table 42. It will be noted that the DSR actor suffixes above, and therefore the dependent and fourth paradigms using them, all end in a front vowel, specifically *i* except after *q* in the third singular where it is an *e*, (309). It is most likely that these suffixes should be analyzed as being cliticized with the 'definite' morpheme *=i* and undergoing the same morphophonemic processes as have been noted earlier for that morpheme (3.3.3.1). When a subordinator occurs on these forms (only 32 out of the 194 dependent SR medials in the sample text collection counted), the vowel is sometimes *i ~ e* (310) and sometimes *ä* (311).

Table 42. SR Medial forms of the verb *t* 'say'.

	Dependent	Coordinate	Simultaneous	Fourth
first sing.	<i>ätmi</i> <i>ä-t-mi</i>	<i>ätätm</i> <i>ä-t-ät-m</i>	<i>ätm</i> <i>ä-t-m</i>	<i>ätätmi</i> <i>ä-t-ät-mi</i>
second sing.	<i>ätŋi</i> <i>ä-t-ŋi</i>	<i>ätätŋ</i> <i>ä-t-ät-n</i>	<i>ätŋ</i> <i>ä-t-n</i>	<i>ätätŋi</i> <i>ä-t-ät-ŋi</i>
third sing.	<i>ätäqe</i> <i>ä-t-äqe</i>	<i>ätätä</i> <i>ä-t-ät-ä</i>	<i>ätä</i> <i>ä-t-ä</i>	<i>ätätäqe</i> <i>ä-t-ät-äqe</i>
first dual	<i>ätayi</i> <i>ä-t-ayi</i>	<i>ätäta</i> <i>ä-t-ät-a</i>	<i>äta</i> <i>ä-t-a</i>	<i>ätätayi</i> <i>ä-t-ät-ayi</i>
second or third dual	<i>äsiyi</i> <i>ä-t-iyi</i>	<i>ätäsin</i> <i>ä-t-ät-in</i>	<i>äsin</i> <i>ä-t-in</i>	<i>ätäsiyi</i> <i>ä-t-ät-iyi</i>
first plural	<i>ätani</i> <i>ä-t-ani</i>	<i>ätätan</i> <i>ä-t-ät-an</i>	<i>ätan</i> <i>ä-t-an</i>	<i>ätätani</i> <i>ä-t-ät-ani</i>
second or third plural	<i>ätpiyi</i> <i>ä-t-piyi</i>	<i>ätäpu</i> <i>ä-t-ät-pu</i>	<i>ätpu</i> <i>ä-t-pu</i>	<i>ätäpiyi</i> <i>ä-t-ät-piyi</i>

As with the generic DR medials, when a subordinator is present, the marked clauses are considered to be in a subordinate relationship with their matrix but without a subordinator they are considered dependent but not subordinate to the matrix. Functionally, the dependent SR forms without a subordinator are the normal forms for a chain of mainline events by an actor, and are often best translated into English as '(and) then'. As (311) shows, however, sequentiality is not part of the meaning of these forms but merely an implication in the absence of evidence to the contrary.

- 309) *Ämoqumeqe, iqi äpmamiŋque.*  
*ä-moquma-äqe i=qi ä-pma-miŋ-qäqu=i*  
 ASS-find-1P/DSR that=LOC ASS-be-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'We found them and (then) remained there.'
- 310) *Aqä qäpu ämätanitäŋi eqä qe äptäqäkuque.*  
*aqä qäpu ä-mät-ani-ta=ŋi eqä qe ä-ptäqä-k-qäqu=i*  
 house CMPL ASS-build-1P/DSR-SRC-GVN water CERT ASS-cover-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'After we finished building the shelters, we covered the water.'
- 311) *Ne häŋä ti yäqänä äpmeqäŋga etätuŋque.*  
*ne häŋä ti yäqä-nä ä-pma-äqe-ŋga e-t-ätq-äŋ-qäqu=i*  
 1P alive thus yet=FCS ASS-be-1P/DSR=TIME 2P-tell-PRGV-IPFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'While we're still alive in this way we are instructing you.'

#### 4.2.4.3.2 Coordinate forms

The coordinate SR forms combine the *-ät* morpheme with the coordinate SR actor suffixes and are used almost as frequently (183 instances) as the dependent forms (194 instances) in the text sample. The difference is that the coordinate forms join two or more clauses into a larger unit which relates to the larger context according to the form of the last verb in the unit. In (312), four clauses predicate events by a single group of actors but they are grouped into two sets of two. The first verb in each pair is a coordinate SR form grouping it with the following clause. The first pair is concluded with a dependent SR form further marked with *=ta*, which is functioning as a temporal subordinator 'from/after', and *=ŋi* 'given'. This unit is therefore subordinated<sup>92</sup> and marked as the frame for the second unit which closes with a final verb form. In this instance, this grouping reflects the fact that the activities predicated fall naturally into distinct types of activity. Note that whereas the temporal relationship between the first pair is clearly sequential, that between the second pair is far more likely to be a simultaneous gathering and hunting. Other sentences within the same text demonstrate that the subordinating *=ta =ŋi* could be omitted and that units of up to four activities can be constructed using a series of coordinate SR forms. (For further discussion and illustration, see (5.1).)

- 312) ...*tä hänaqä iketan*      *buayä häkiyä äyānaqetaŋi*      *qäuqä*  
       *tä hänaqä ika-ät-an*      *buayä häkiyä ä-yä-eat-aqe-ta=ŋi*      *qäuqä*  
       fire flame light-SR-1P/CSR food cook ASS-cook-eat-1P/CSR=SRC=GVN forest  
  
       *im*      *päŋä qaqä änduäkitan*      *ŋŋäŋqä tuaqä qe*  
       i=m      *päŋä qaqä ä-du-ikä-ät-an*      *ŋŋä=ŋqä tuaqä qe*  
       that=unseen betel pepper ASS-pick-tour-SR-1P/CSR bird=GOAL hunt CERT  
  
       *ikämiŋque.*  
       *ikä-miŋ-qäqu=i*  
       tour-PA/IPFV-1P/DSO=IND  
       '...after we had lit a fire and cooked and eaten food, we went around in the forest gathering  
       betel nut and pepper leaves and hunting for birds.'

#### 4.2.4.3.3 Coordinate simultaneous forms

The coordinate simultaneous SR forms are morphologically the simplest, consisting only of the verb nucleus and a coordinate SR actor suffix. The coordinated predications are simultaneous and, in most instances, one of them is a state and the other either a coterminal situation (with complete overlap) or an

<sup>92</sup> Note that this subordination is a relationship between clause units, not between individual clauses.

action taking place while the state exists (partial overlap). In the first case, the coterminous situation is predicated first, using a SR simultaneous form and the state is the matrix clause in whatever form is appropriate to the larger context, as in (313) where it is a final clause. In the latter case, the ongoing state is predicated first with a SR simultaneous form, and the contained action is in the matrix clause, as in (314) where the whole unit is nominalized as the topic of the following clause.

- 313) ...*iqu balusiŋqä hiuŋä äqunä* *äpmamiŋqe.*  
*i-qu balusi-yqä hiuŋä ä-w-q-n-ä* *ä-pma-miŋ-qäqä=i*  
 that=M plane=GOAL eye ASS-3-act-DETR-3s/CSR ASS-be-PA/IPFV-3s/DSO=IND  
 '...he remained watching for the plane.'

- 314) *Ne täŋga häŋä yäqänä äpmen etätuŋque,...*  
*ne tä-yga häŋä yäqä-nä ä-pma-an e-t-ätq-äŋ-qäqu=i*  
 1P this=TIME alive yet=FCS ASS-be-1P/CSR 2P-tell-PRGV-IPFV-1P/DSO=DEF  
 'The things we still being alive are telling you now, ...'

No instances have been found of multiple SR simultaneous forms being chained together in the way of the SR dependent and SR coordinate forms. However, the matrix conjunct, to which the simultaneous form is joined, can be complex (see 5.2.2).

The primary exception to the restriction that one of the verbs be a state verb is an idiomatic expression meaning 'think', used as a quotative verb. This consists of a simultaneous SR form of the verb 'say' followed by the appropriate form of the verb 'do' as in (315).

- 315) "*Aŋä äŋguä wämqänä*" *tä* *iäqeŋi,...*  
*aŋä äŋguä wä-m-yqä-nä t-ä i-äqe=ŋi*  
 place good lie-1s/IRR=GOAL=QT say-3s/CSR do-3s/DSR=GVN  
 'Having thought "I'm going to sleep in a good place," ...'

#### 4.2.4.3.4 Fourth set forms

These forms combine the suffix *-är*<sup>93</sup> with the dependent SR actor suffixes, and almost always bear an explicit subordinator. Their usage is highly marked, to the extent that they are not considered grammatical out of spontaneous discourse, as was indicated at the beginning of this section. When their occurrence in text is studied, however, there is no indication that they are performance errors needing to be corrected and the full paradigm can be elicited by changing the person and number of the ACTOR. In most instances where

<sup>93</sup> See footnote 125 for the suggestion that this might, in fact, be another use of the imperfective morpheme.

these forms occur, a dependent SR form with the same subordinator is acceptable; for example in (316) the highlighted SR verb could be replaced with *imiqqä* (*i-mi-qqä*), with no discernable meaning change.

- 316) *Nyi ymeqä iqueyi, täqi hiuqä maquqqä itmiqqä*  
*Nyi ymeqä i-qu=e-yi tä=qi hiuqä ma-w-q-n-qä i-ät-mi=qqä*  
 1s child that=M-OJ=GVN this=LOC eye NEG-3-act-DETR-DVZR do-SR-1s/DSR=GOAL  
*iqqä ätäqä.*  
*i=qqä ä-t-q-ä*  
 that=GOAL ASS-say-PFV-1S/ASO  
 'Because I've not seen the boy here I'm talking about that.'

#### 4.2.4.3.5 Aspect marking

Aspect is rarely marked on SR medial verbs and is different, in form and meaning, from that occurring on final and DR medial verbs. The suffix *-(qi)njaqän* is added between the verb nucleus and the actor suffix to indicate the prolongation of a situation. Generally the longer form *-qinjqän* is used when a non-stative verb is involved<sup>94</sup>, indicating the prolongation of a process (317), and the shorter *-njaqän* when a state verb or state-action compound is in the verb nucleus (318).

- 317) *Betqä imäkani, imäkäqinjqänani, awiyqäyi wäuyi qäpu*  
*betqä imäk-ani, imäk-qinjqän-ani, awiyqä-yi wäuyä-i qäpu*  
 bed make-1P/DSR make-DUR-1P/DSR afternoon=GVN work=DEF CMPL  
*ikäque.*  
*i-k-qäqu-i*  
 do-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'We made the bed and kept on making it and, in the afternoon we finished the work.'
- 318) *...kukyuä ätqämanjqänage hiqaqä äwäkuque.*  
*kukyuä ä-t-qäman-njaqän-age hiqaqä ä-wä-k-qäqu-i*  
 talk ASS-say-be-DUR-1P/DSR sleep ASS-lie-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 '...we went sitting and talking, and then slept.'

Example (319) is exceptional in that the shorter form is used with an ongoing process and also in that it is a simultaneous coordinate SR form whereas all other instances are of dependent SR forms. The more expected *äuyqinjqämbiyi* is accepted as a substitute here.

<sup>94</sup> This meaning difference may indicate that the additional syllable (morpheme?) is related to the neutral perfective *-q*.

- 319) *Yi im äumbqeqä im*  
*Yi i=m ä-u-n-p-qä=i=i* *i=m*  
 arrow that=unseen ASS-shoot-DETR-23P/IRR-GEN=DEF=GVN that=unseen

*äunjaqämbu...*

*ä-u-n-njaqän-pu*

ASS-shoot-DETR-DUR-23P/CSR

'Whenever they would shoot each other, they would go on shooting each other...'

#### 4.2.4.4 Irrealis SR medials

There is only one set of irrealis SR medial forms and it parallels the generic DR medials in both form and meaning. The verb nucleus is affixed with the irrealis actor set followed by the morpheme =*qä* 'GEN' and an optional subordinating clitic. It also has in common the fact that, when there is no subordinating clitic, the final vowel is *e* rather than *ä* which will be treated as the presence of the 'definite' clitic =*i* and these forms are considered dependent but not subordinate. Whereas the dependent variants were the exception for the generic DR forms, they are the norm for the generic SR forms.

Irrealis SR medial → verb nucleus (aspect) actor -*qä* (subordinator)

Table 43: Irrealis (generic) SR medial forms of the verb *ma* 'get'.

	singular	dual	plural
first	<i>ämamqe</i> <i>ä-ma-m-qä=i</i>	<i>ämeqe</i> <i>ä-ma-e-qä=i</i>	<i>ämeqe ~ ämetuqe</i> <i>ä-ma-a(tu)-qä=i</i>
second	<i>ämatqe</i> <i>ä-ma-t-qä=i</i>	<i>ämayqe</i> <i>ä-ma-y-qä=i</i>	<i>ämapqe</i> <i>ä-ma-p-qä=i</i>
third	<i>ämetqe</i> <i>ä-ma-ät-qä=i</i>		

The same two variations in meaning that were found for the generic DR forms also exist for the irrealis forms. The warning in (320) is generic, applying to every time any of the addressees steal. The statement in (321) is referring to a specific event that might take place some time in the future, after which the latter two events can take place.

- 320) *Hquki quwä ämatqe,...* *mbqä naqänäqä wisnä.*  
*hn-qu=ki quwä ä-ma-t-qä=i* *mbqä naqä-näqä w-i-t-n*  
 INDEF=M=2s steal ASS-get-2S/IRR-GEN=DEF money big-very 3-do-2S/IRR-FUT  
 'If any of you ever steals,... you will give a large sum of money.'

- 321) *Kiqä kiuänä äquyepätqäŋga iŋga tuqaygä,*  
*ki=qä ki=uä=nä ä-quyep-ät-qä=ŋga i=ŋga w-t-q-ayg-ä*  
 3S=POSS 3S=POSS-FCS ASS-come.down-3S/IRR-GEN=TIME that=TIME 3-say-PFV-DR-1S/ASO  
*iŋga päwäqoŋqä.*  
*i=ŋga p-wä-q-ä=ŋqä*  
 that=TIME come-go.down-PFV-3S/IRR=GOAL  
 'At whatever time he comes down, then I will talk to him and then she can come and go down.'

As with the realis SR medials, there is a unique aspect suffix *-mit* that indicates a prolonged duration of the predicated situation. As (323) illustrates, the *t* of *-mit* generally deletes before *p* but even this speaker, in the preceding sentence, uses the unshortened form *pmamitpqe* (*pma-mit-p-qä=i*) 'if you keep on being ...'.

- 322) *E imisiyqe,...* *suqä e ämotuqamisiyqe,*  
*e i-mit-i-qä=i, suqä e ä-w-mätuqa-mit-i-qä=i*  
 thus do-DUR-23D/IRR-GEN=DEF custom thus ASS-3-show-DUR-23D/IRR-GEN=DEF  
*ymeqäqua qeyaqä suqä du qänaknä iqäpänuwäŋqä.*  
*ymeqä-qu=a qe-yaqä suqä n-tu qänakä=nä i-q-p-ni-uwä=ŋqä*  
 child=M-PL 2D=POSS custom level=LOC follow-FCS do-PFV-23P/IRR-FUT-23P/DSO=GOAL  
 'If you keep on doing this, if you (parents) keep on teaching (your children) behaviour in that way, the children will go on following in you behaviour.'
- 323) *"Suqä enyqä iqätä quwä meqetä imäkmipqe,*  
*suqä enyqä i-qä-tä quwä ma-qä=i-tä imäk-mit-p-qä=i*  
 custom laziness do-DVZR=& steal get-DVZR=DEF=& make-DUR-23P/IRR-GEN=DEF  
*qäyunä mäpmeqä ipänuwiqä."*  
*qäyu-nä ma-pma-qä i-p-ni-uwä=i-qä*  
 correct-FCS NEG-be-DVZR do-23P/IRR-FUT-23P/DSO=IND-QT  
 ' "If you keep on practicing laziness and theft, you won't live well." '

### 4.3 Verbal modification

This section will present various aspects of verbal modification that can occur within what I am calling the verbal phrase<sup>95</sup> – a group of words occurring and acting together to specify the nature of the predicated situation apart from the NP arguments that identify the participants and props of whom the situation is predicated. In keeping with the verb-final nature of Menya, but in contrast to the position of modifiers in the noun phrase (3.3.2), the modifiers to be presented here all precede their head. Modification is in the

<sup>95</sup> In his discussion of the term 'verb phrase,' Crystal (1997:41) contrasts the traditional use, defined as "a group of verbs which together have the same syntactic function as a single verb, e.g. *is coming, may be coming, get up to*" with the more recent generative use that includes the NPs other than the subject. My 'verbal phrase' is between the two in terms of what it includes.



form of adjunct nominals, adverbs and adverbial particles which generally occur in that order preceding the verb, though there is some flexibility of order.

Verbal Phrase → (adjunct nominal) (adverb) (particle) verb

These three forms of verbal modification will be presented in the order of their relative proximity to the verb. Negation will also be discussed in this section following the presentation of adverbs because, in the most frequent expression of negation, the negated form functions as an adverbial modifier.

### 4.3.1 Adverbial particles

There are a limited number of particles which occur immediately preceding the verb and in some instances indicate an aspectual or modal component of meaning. The six clear members of this class are:

<i>ai</i>	'done, finished'
<i>anä</i>	'together'
<i>äyä</i>	'just now, just then, as soon as'
<i>qäpu</i>	'completed, finished'
<i>qäyä</i>	'as is'
<i>qe</i>	'certainty'

- 324) *Kiyapä iqu hiuqä ai äquqäqe; qäyä eänä!*  
*kiyapä i-qu hiuqä ai ä-w-q-n-q-qäqä=i qäyä e-ä-nä*  
 officer that=M eye done ASS-3-act-DETR-PFV-3S/DSO=IND as.is be-3S/IRR-QT  
 '“The officer has already seen it; let it be!” (i.e. do not try to explain to me.)'

Co-occurrence of these particles is rare but various combinations of two have been recorded in spontaneous text, and more accepted in elicitation.

- 325) *Iqiyqe nyi ai äyä äktätqe.*  
*i=qi=qqä=i nyi ai äyä ä-k-t-ätq-äq-qäqä=i*  
 that=LOC=GOAL=DEF 1S done just ASS-2S-tell-PRGV-IPFV-1S/DSO=IND  
 'About that, I've just finished telling you.'

The particles *ai* and *qäpu* overlap in meaning and can often be used interchangeably. The latter is far more common and has a wider range of uses. It often co-occurs with the verbal suffix *-mäu* (4.2.1.4) which also indicates completion of the event (326). It is also frequently used as a predicate to indicate that an event has been completed (327) or the supply of a product exhausted (328).

- 326) *Higgumetqä qäpu ti änmäuäqeqi...*  
*higgumetqä qäpu ti ä-n-mäu-äqe=qi*  
 corn CMPL thus ASS-eat-CMPL-3S/DSR=GVN  
 'When he has thus finished eating the corn, ...'

- 327) *Nyaqä tiwige qäpiti.*  
*n=yaqä tiwiqä=i qäpu=i-yä*  
 1s=POSS story=DEF CMPL=IND=QT  
 'My story's ended'

- 328) *Tasi qäpinji.*  
*tasi=i qäpu=nji*  
 rice=DEF CMPL=IND  
 'The rice is all gone.'

The most frequent of these particles is *qe* which increases the certainty of the assertion or, in native speaker terminology, "strengthens the talk" (329). It does not occur with medial forms of the verb and only rarely with final forms used medially (see 5.4.2). However, like *qäpu*, it can be used as a predicate itself to assert factuality as in (330).

- 329) *Hui äнай, hui qa qe ämikuee.*  
*hn=i ä-n-äyi hn=i qa qe ä-mi-k-ueä=i*  
 INDEF=F ASS-eat-1D/DSR INDEF=F bag CERT ASS-put.in-PA/PPV-1D/DSO=IND  
 'Some we ate and some we put in bags.'
- 330) *Tuendi kina qenji -- ipeqätänä nyi paipä kinä hui*  
*tuendi kinä qe=nji i=pa=e-qä=tä-nä nyi paipä kinä hn=i*  
 twenty kina CERT=IND that=HON=OJ=POSS-&=FCS 1s five kina INDEF=F  
*ämamiqetänä.*  
*ä-ma-miq-qäqä=i-tä-nä*  
 ASS-have-PA/IPFV-1s/DSO=DEF-&=FCS  
 'There was twenty kina – hers plus the five kina I had.'

The boundary between adverb and adverbial particle cannot be firmly drawn. The morpheme *qäyu* 'correct' in many occurrences appears to be a seventh member of the class, as in (331) where it occurs between two other particles. However, it can also be used as an adjective and, in such instances, be intensified as in (332). It is therefore analyzed as a modifier (having both adjectival and adverbial functions) but may well be in the process of becoming a particle.

- 331) ...äqunanä                      ätqäunque,                      ai    qäyu    äyä  
       ä-w-q-n-an                      ä-tqäu-äq-qäqu=i                      ai    qäyu    äyä  
       ASS-3-act-PFV-DETR-1P/CSR    ASS-stand-IPFV-1D/DSO=DEF    done    correct    just  
       itqanqäqäqanqäi,...  
       it-q-anq-qäqä-qga=qi  
       do-PFV-DR-3s/DSO=TIME=GVN  
       '...we were stood waiting then at just the right time...'
- 332) Iqu    suqä    qäyunäqä    huiu                      ämänduqakäqe.  
       i-qu    suqä    qäyu-näqä    hn=i-u                      ä-n-mä \*tuqa-k-qäqä=i  
       that=M    custom    correct-very    INDEF=F=LOC    ASS-1s-show-PA/PFV-3s/DSO=IND  
       'He taught me correct behaviour.'

*Qäpu* may also be in the process of change from an adverb to a particle in which case its predicate usage would be a vestige of its original adverb function. Givón (2001a:95) claims (in his discussion of adpositions) that the phonological size of members of minor word classes often coincides with their greater age in the class and degree of grammaticalization, which fits the features of *qäyu* and *qäpu*. The predicate use of *qe*, however, would be an exception in that it is shorter and has no features of a lexical adverb other than its predicate use.

#### 4.3.2 Adverbs and adverbial modification

As was stated in the overview of Menya word classes (2.1), some adverbs are restricted to verbal modification while others can also be used adjectivally. They modify the nature of the proposition by specifying the manner (333), duration (334), frequency (335) or timing (336) of the situation.

- 333) Ye tnäqänä qe    äpekuee.  
       ye tnäqä=nä qe    ä-p-y-k-ueä=i  
       1D hot=FCS    CERT    ASS-come-go.up-PA/PFV-1s/DSO=IND  
       'We passed on up quickly. (In Menya, 'hot' can mean 'quickly'.)'
- 334) Nyi äpakänä    äpmamiqe.  
       nyi äpakä=nä    ä-pma-miq-qäqä=i  
       1s    prolonged=FCS    ASS-be-PA/IPFV-1s/DSO=IND  
       'I stayed for a long time.'
- 335) Ämaqä nyuäqä du    kuapänä    päkpqänä  
       ämaqä nyuäqä n=tu    kuapä=nä    päk-p-qäqä=nä  
       person    head    level=LOC    many=FCS    hit-23P/IRR=GOAL=FCS  
       'They would hit a man on the head many times.'

- 336) *Iqu ganä qe ätimäuqäqe.*  
*i-qu ga=nä qe ä-timäu-q-qäqä=i*  
 that=M TIME=FCS CERT ASS-arrive-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'He arrived first.'

As is evident in the above examples, adverbs are frequently marked as being significant new information by the focal clitic =*nä*. They can also be intensified by the addition of the suffix -*näqä* (337).

- 337) *Qe qätä änyiyäsinyä, quamä äyguänäqä pmayyqe.*  
*qe qätä ä-n-i-i-ät-in quamä äyguä-näqä pma-iny-yqä=i*  
 2D ear ASS-1S-do-BEN-SR-23D/CSR seated well-very be-23D/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'You two are to listen to me and settle very well.'

In many (if not all) languages, adverbial phrases (and sometimes even clauses) can fill the same position and function as an adverb. Thus in (338), the frequency of the event is specified by a number phrase composed of demonstrative pronouns following the traditional, two-based system and, in (339), duration of the event is expressed by a noun phrase in which demonstratives similarly quantify the head (3.3.3.1). In both instances, the indefinite root *hn* is used because the quantity is new information. If (339) were followed by the statement 'It didn't rain on those four days', the days would be encoded as *hia iquaui* 'on those days' or *hia iquaui iquaui* 'on those four days', using the neutral demonstrative root *i* 'that'.

- 338) *Ämaqä nyuäqä du hyquaqu hyque päkpqänä.*  
*ämaqä nyuäqä n=tu hn-qu-aqu hn-qu=e päk-p-qäqä=nä*  
 person head level=LOC INDEF=M=DL INDEF=M=OJ hit-23P/IRR=GOAL=FCS  
 'They would hit a man on the head three times.'
- 339) *Iqu hia hyquaui hyquaui äwäkäqäqe, Hanjuwäqi.*  
*i-qu hia hn-qu-aqu=i hn-qu-aqu=i ä-wä-k-qäqä=i Hanjuwä=qi*  
 that=M night INDEF=M=DL=OJ INDEF=M=DL=OJ ASS-lie-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND Hanjuwa=LOC  
 'He stayed four nights, at Hanjuwa.'

Similarly, deverbalized clauses can have a manner adverbial function. This is true whether the deverbalized clause is positive (340-341) or negative (342).

- 340) *Katä änä mäyapqaygi, iqu äpakänä iqä*  
*katä änä ma-yap-q-ayg-i i-qu äpakä-nä i-qä*  
 car how NEG-come.up-PFV-DR-3S/ASO that=M slowly=FCS do-DVZR

*äyapmiyqe.*

*ä-yap-miy-qäqä=i*

ASS-come.up-PA/IPFV-3S/DSO=IND

'The car couldn't come up (well) and so he was coming up performing slowly.'

- 341) ...*iqinyqä hiuqä yäqänä quqqä qe ekuque.*  
*i-qi-qqä hiuqä yäqä-nä w-q-n-qä qe ä-y-k-qäqu=i*  
 that-LOC=GOAL eye still=FCS 3-act-DETR-DVZR CERT ASS-go.up-PA/PFV-1D/DSO=IND

'...we went up there with our minds (lit. eyes) fixed (on the place).'

- 342) *Iqu täkqi, enyqä miqä äqäkäqe.*  
*i-qu täkqä=i enyqä ma-i-qä ä-q-k-qäqä=i*  
 that=M fence=DEF laziness NEG-do-DVZR ASS-act-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND

'He built the fence without laziness.'

While the adverbial modification described here normally occurs immediately before the verb or adverbial particles, it can occur earlier, even within the sentence frame.

- 343) *Angi iḡayḡi nyi äkimamäniqe.*  
*aygi i-ḡga-ḡi nyi ä-k-ima-m-ni-qäqä=i*  
 again that-TIME=GVN 1S ASS-2S-meet-1S/IRR-FUT-1S/DSO=IND

'I will come back to you at that time.'

On the other hand, location of an event in time or space, which is also adverbial in nature, is more normally expressed earlier in the clause or sentence as part of the setting (344) but will be placed in the preverbal position when it is focal new information as in (345), which would be in answer to a 'when' question and the time word could be further focussed using the =*nä* clitic.

- 344) *Kitawiqi Sandeqi, nätmataqä isua eeqänä näwenyā qe*  
*Kitawiqä=i Sande-ḡi nätmataqä i-su-a eeqä-nä näwenyā qe*  
 Kitawiqä=F Sunday=GVN thing that=DIM=PL all=FCS ready CERT

*imäkäkäqe.*

*imäk-k-qäqä=i*

make-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND

'On Sunday, Kitawiqä prepared all the things (needed).'

- 345) *Menyāmaḡqe, nyi awiḡga wämqä.*  
*Menyāma-ḡqä=i nyi awiḡga wä-m-ḡqä.*  
 Menyāma=GOAL=DEF 1S tomorrow go.down-1S/IRR=GOAL

'To Menyāma, I'm going down tomorrow.'

### 4.3.3 Negation

Any form of the verb – final, medial, serial or deverbalized – can bear the negative prefix *ma-* but by far the most frequent pattern is for the semantically main verb to be marked as negative and deverbalized, with the appropriate generic verb *i* ‘do’ or *e* ‘be’ bearing any extra-nuclear affixation (cf. also 2.3.5 and 4.2.1.1). As (346) shows, the affixation belonging within the verb nucleus (affectee agreement and inner aspect) remains with the main verb.

- 346) *Tqä tniqu skutqäñqä miktmeqisäqä imiñqäta?*  
*t-qä t-n=i-qu skutqä=ñqä ma-k-itma-qisä-qä i-miñ-qäqä=ta*  
 2s=POSS 2s-father-DEF=M school=GOAL NEG-2s-take-to.fro-DVZR do-PA/IPFV-3s/DSO=POLQ  
 ‘Didn’t your father used to take you back and forth to school?’

This construction is used when the actor is in control whereas the rare single verb construction indicates that the situation was beyond the actor’s control, as in (213) repeated here from 4.2.1.1.

- 347) *Nyi buayä manganga si änyimeñi.*  
*nyi buayä ma-ñ-q-añg=ñga si ä-n-ima-q-ñä=i*  
 1s food NEG-eat-PFV-DR=TIME 2s ASS-1s-meet-PFV-2s/DSO=IND  
 ‘You came to me when I had nothing to eat.’

In the previous section, examples (340)-(342) illustrated that a deverbalized clause can function as an adverbial modifier embedded within a matrix clause. As (348) shows, the actor of the adverbial clause is not necessarily the same as that of the main clause. In this instance from Menya mythology, the two women were unseen as they escaped from their snake-husband; it is therefore the husband’s failure to see their departure that is being reported as significant.

- 348) ...*apäkä iuaqu aqä imäkätqätanga maqñqä*  
*apäkä i-aqu aqä imäk-ätq-ät-añg=ñga ma-q-n-qä*  
 woman that-DL house make-PRGV-IPFV-DR=TIME NEG-act-DETR-DVZR  
*äuyämakiyi.*  
*ä-uyäma-k-iyä=i.*  
 ASS-leave-PA/PFV-23D/DSO=IND  
 ‘...the two women left him unseen while he was house-building.’

It is proposed here that, in the normal negative construction, the semantically main predication is deverbalized and modifies the generic verb such that (346) would more literally be translated as “Did your father act in a manner of not taking you back and forth to school?” The destination phrase *skutqäñqä* is therefore within the negative, adverbially-embedded clause, rather than the matrix clause.

Though the particles *qäpu* 'completed', *qe* 'certain', and *äyä* 'just now' (4.3.1) have not been recorded or observed in spontaneous text co-occurring with negatives, experimentation in elicitation provides some significant insights. Subject to constraints that are seemingly more conditioned by inability to envision an appropriate context than by grammaticality, they can occur either before the negated, deverbilized form or before the matrix verb, with differences in meaning. The differing positions of *qe* in (349) alters the component of meaning being emphasized as really true. In sentences about house building the differences would be between not building a house properly (*qe* within the adverbial modifier) and not building one at all (*qe* with the matrix verb). In (350) the 'b' variant is often rejected as "slightly incorrect" but sometimes a meaning is postulated. The particle *äyä* is consistently rejected within the adverbial modifier.

- 349 a: *Nyi buayä qe' maṇqä iqäqe.*  
*nyi buayä qe ma-n-qä i-q-qäqä=i*  
 1s food CERT NEG-eat-DVZR do-PFV-1s/DSO=IND  
 'I haven't really eaten (just snacked).

- b: *Nyi buayä maṇqä qe iqäqe.*  
*nyi buayä ma-n-qä qe i-q-qäqä=i*  
 1s food NEG-eat-DVZR CERT do-PFV-1s/DSO=IND  
 'I really haven't eaten (at all).'

- 350 a: *Nyi buayä qäpu maṇqä iqäqe.*  
*nyi buayä qäpu ma-n-qä i-q-qäqä=i*  
 1s food CMPL NEG-eat-DVZR do-PFV-1s/DSO=IND  
 'I haven't finished eating.'

- b: ? *Nyi buayä maṇqä qäpu iqäqe.*  
*nyi buayä ma-n-qä qäpu i-q-qäqä=i*  
 1s food NEG-eat-DVZR CMPL do-PFV-1s/DSO=IND  
 'I've been unable to eat for several days.'

Negatives are frequently emphasized by the addition of the emphatic particle *da* following the negativized verb regardless of whether the matrix verb is a generic auxiliary (351) or the semantically main verb (352).

- 351) *...iqu hiunjinga matimäuqä da ikäqe.*  
*i-qu hiunji-ṅga ma-timäu-qä da i-k-qäqä=i*  
 that=M daytime=TIME NEG-arrive-DVZR indeed do-PA/PFV-3s/DSO=IND  
 '...he didn't arrive in the middle of the day.'

- 352) *Ne yiähiquitägi buayä häkiyä mayäḡqä da qanyä*  
*ne yiähiquitä=ḡi buayä häkiyä ma-yä-n-qä da qanyä*  
 1P morning=GVN food cook NEG-cook-eat-DVZR indeed as.is  
*iuyatuwänmä äquyepüque.*  
*iuyatuwä-n-mä ä-quyep-q-qäqu=i*  
 arise-DETR-SER/SEM ASS-come.down-PFV-1P/DSO=IND

'This morning we arose and came as is, without cooking and eating food.'

Prohibitives (negative commands) are also expressed periphrastically, with the semantically main verb being a deverbilized form followed by the hortative form of the prohibitive auxiliary *pa ~ pan* or *ma ~ man*. The prohibitive auxiliary is used only in this construction.

- 353) *Nätmatqä eeqänäḡä isua quwä mämeqä pambiyä!*  
*nätmatqä eeqä-näḡä i=s-ua quwä ma-ma-qä pan-p-yä*  
 thing all-very that=DIM=PL steal NEG-get-DVZR do not-23P/IRR=QT  
 'Do not steal anything!'

For some speakers, the forms *pa* and *ma* can also be used as an emphatic particle instead of *da*, but *da* has never been observed or accepted as a prohibitive auxiliary<sup>96</sup>.

#### 4.3.4 Adjunct nominals

Adjunct nominals combine with generic verbs to express specific verbal concepts. Many of these words are clearly nouns (2.1), but there are some which are not used other than in such verbal phrases and so cannot be given a meaning distinct from that of the whole. For example, the word *asḡä* combines with the generic verb *q~qiy* 'act' to form the traditional expression for 'washing' and is accordingly glossed as 'wash'. In the Menya lexicon, these adjuncts with limited distribution are classified as verbal nouns. The adjunct-nominal-plus-verb phrases form a phonological unit, with no pause within it and the verb bearing the phrasal stress. For those phrases where the adjunct is clearly a noun that is being incorporated, the argument/thematic relationship can be either instrumental or affected entity (patient/theme/object). This incorporation is only allowed, however, when the collocation is so common as to be almost a given within the culture and only if nothing further is being said about the referent. It is proposed that these phrasal

<sup>96</sup> The comparative subordinating particle (5.4.2.4) also has the two forms *pa* and *ma* but, as yet, I see no basis for uniting them with the prohibitive auxiliary.



predicates containing verbal nouns provide the structure which sanctions the incorporation of unindividuated nouns.

#### 4.3.4.1 Verbal noun + generic verb

Among the most common of the generic verbs are:

354)	<i>i</i>	'do'	<i>e</i>	'be'
	<i>q</i>	act	<i>imäk</i>	'make'
	<i>t</i>	'say'	<i>n</i>	'eat'
	<i>täu</i>	'cut'	<i>päk</i>	'hit'
	<i>ma</i>	'get, have'	<i>w</i>	'go'

As an example, the verb *t*, which though glossed as 'say', is used to express almost any noise that can be made, including those by inanimate objects, such as:

355)	<i>auqä t</i>	'call out to the next village'	<i>awä t</i>	'announce'
	<i>äkakä t</i>	'croak (noise of frog or bird)'	<i>biqä t</i>	'smack the lips'
	<i>haqä t</i>	'noise of rain'	<i>hiqä t</i>	'noise of water boiling'
	<i>huqä t</i>	'blow on as a means of healing'	<i>täuqä t</i>	'call out to someone nearby'

Some of the verbal nouns can combine with more than one of these verbs to express different concepts, such that each combination needs to be entered in the lexicon.

356)	<i>äkasuwä t</i>	'scold someone'	<i>äkasuwä i</i>	'be angry'
	<i>quaygä t</i>	'lie'	<i>quaygä i</i>	'deceive (other than by word)'
	<i>aqüyä imäk</i>	'mix something'	<i>aqüyä qn</i>	'gather together'
	<i>a täu</i>	'count, read'	<i>a qät</i>	'hold'
	<i>tä täu</i>	'bite'	<i>tä s</i>	'laugh, smile'

In a few instances, such as *a* and *tä* in the above examples, the verbal noun can be associated with a physical item but the word is distinct from the noun having the same referent; *a* and *tä* refer respectively to 'hand' and 'teeth' for which the full nouns are *hipa* and *hiquayä*.

The adjunct nominal is the first element within the verbal phrase (357) and (358), in accordance with the formula at the beginning of 4.3. As with the verbal modifiers, they can be marked for focal emphasis using the clitic =*nä* (359).

- 357) *I tuqayga, ämaqä täuqä qe ätkäqe.*  
*i w-t-q-ayg=yga ämaqä täuqä qe ä-t-k-qäqä=i*  
 that 3-say-PFV-DR=TIME person call CERT ASS-say-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'He said that to her then she called for (other) people.'
- 358) *Iqu qayä kiquä kiuänä äukuqäqe.*  
*i-qu qayä ki-qä ki-uä-nä ä-w-k-qäqä=i*  
 that=M walk 3S=POSS 3S=POSS=FCS ASS-go-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'He went on walking alone.'
- 359) *Qayä äpkuwi. Qayänä äpkuwi.*  
*qayä ä-p-k-uwä=i qayä=nä ä-p-k-uwä=i*  
 walk ASS-come-PA/PFV-23P/DSO=IND walk=FCS ASS-come-PA/PFV-23P/DSO=IND  
 'They came walking. They kept on coming walking.'

When such predication are deverbalized, the verbal noun is retained as in (360).

- 360) *Suqä enyqä iqätä quwä meqetä imäkmipqe,...*  
*suqä enyqä i-qä=tä quwä ma-qä=i-tä imäk-mit-p-qä=i*  
 custom laziness do-DVZR=& steal get-DVZR=DEF=& make-DUR-23P/IRR-GEN=DEF  
 'Whenever you keep on performing laziness and theft, ...'

These verbal nouns are sometimes used without the accompanying verb to refer anaphorically to a previously-mentioned predication (361) or as part of the frame for the sentence (362). These are considered to be examples of ellipsis, the inflected verb being omitted as redundant.

- 361) *Ne täygaqi quwä di, mämeqä yatuyque.*  
*ne tä-yga-yi quwä n-ti ma-ma-qä i-atu-yqä=i*  
 1P this=TIME-GVN steal level=LOC NEG-get-DVZR do-1P/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'Today this theft we are not to practice.'
- 362) *...qu kimaqi, "I äuygiqä" ändkuwi.*  
*qu kima-yi i äuygä=i-qä ä-n-t-k-uwä=i*  
 3P answer-GVN that good=IND=QT ASS-1S-say-PA/PFV-23P/DSO=IND  
 '...they in answer said to me "That's good."'

The question arises, though, as to whether in such instances they are not nouns or becoming more noun-like. Though the words currently being classified as verbal nouns cannot be possessed and modified in the way full nouns are, there is evidence for diachronic change in that direction, with some words being further along the process. For example, the phrase *asqä q* 'perform washing' was mentioned above as being the traditional expression meaning 'wash'. In recent years, following the introduction of Christian practices by the Lutheran church, this expression has been extended to also refer to baptism. Accordingly, new phrases have developed, such as *asqä ma* 'get washing' *asqä wi* 'give/perform baptism', and the word *asqä* is

sometimes possessed, as in *yqä asyä* 'my baptism', with or without the appropriate deverbalized form of the verb.

#### 4.3.4.2 Incorporated instruments

In the discussion following the examples in (356) it was pointed out that the verbal nouns *a* and *tä* can be glossed as 'hand' and 'teeth' respectively but that there are separate nouns for both these items. Within their respective phrases the referents of those verbal nouns have an instrumental function. Following this pattern, Menya allows nouns referring to non-referential or insignificant instruments to be incorporated into the verbal phrase.

- 363) *Qu täyä ique yi huqayguwäyga,...*  
*qu täyä i-qu=e yi h-u-q-ayg-uwä=yga*  
 3P possum that=M-OJ arrow NEU-shoot-PFV-DR-23P/DSO=TIME  
 'They arrow-shot the possum then ...'

- 364) *Hikä myä änä ipu ätäumiḡuwäti?*  
*hikä myä änä i-ät-pu ä-täu-miḡ-uwä=ti*  
 stone axe<sup>97</sup> how do-SR-23P/DSR ASS-cut-PA/IPFV-23P/DSO=DUBIT  
 'I wonder how they axe-cut the rock.'

When the instrument is considered significant and/or to be further identified, then the association clitic (3.4.5) is used in its instrumental function. Example (365) is about a snake species that is believed to kill by striking with its tail. The two sentences within this example contrast the unexpected and expected instruments which are accordingly encoded as separate argument and an incorporated nominal respectively.

- 365) *Klqä häwqä ditä kăpäsänä. Iqua tä makätäuqä*  
*ki-qä häwqä n-ti-tä k-păk-ä-n i-qu=a tä ma-k-täu-qä*  
 3=POSS tail level=there-with 2S-hit-3S/IRR-FUT that=M=PL teeth NEG-cut-DVZR  
*da ipän.*  
*da i-p-n*  
 indeed do-23P/IRR-FUT  
 'It kills you with its tail. They do not bite you.'

In (366), where the number of arrows used is in focus, the presupposed information is given first in the frame with the instrumental noun incorporated but the verb elided as in (361) and (362). In the asserted portion of the sentence, the instrument is elaborated on and marked as instrument.

<sup>97</sup> The word glossed 'axe' is used for any steel tool.

- 366) *Nyi yaqueqä yi, yi h̥yquaquä äukäqe.*  
*nyi yaqueqä yi, yi hn-qu-aqu-tä ä-u-k-qäqä-i*  
 1s pig arrow arrow INDEF=M=PL=with ASS-shoot-PA/PFV-1S/DSO=IND  
 'I shot the pig with two arrows.'

#### 4.3.4.3 Incorporated objects

On the basis of phrasal phonology, it appears that a non-referential or insignificant object/patient/affected-entity can also be incorporated into the verbal phrase. This is especially true when the verb is one of the generic verbs mentioned in 4.3.4.1 and the noun makes the nature of the act specific by identifying the object produced by the act without focussing on the object itself. For example, in (367) and (368), the noun *kuk̥ɲuä* identifies the generic act of 'making a noise' as an act of speech. In these instances the word *kuk̥ɲuä* is phonologically dependent on the following verb whereas in (369) the phrase *kuk̥ɲuä hui* is phonologically and syntactically distinct from the verbal phrase.

- 367) *Nyi Ayutaŋqä äukuqueŋqä kuk̥ɲuä tmqe.*  
*nyi Ayuta-ŋqä ä-w-k-qäqu-i-ŋqä kuk̥ɲuä t-m-ŋqä-i*  
 1s Aiyura-GOAL ASS-go-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND=GOAL talk say-1S/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'I'm going to talk about (when) we went to Aiyura.'
- 368) *Iqu biŋsu iquä kuk̥ɲuä ätäsin äpmamiŋiyi.*  
*i-qu biŋsu i-qu-tä kuk̥ɲuä ä-t-ät-in ä-pma-miŋ-iyä-i*  
 that=M missionary that=M=with talk ASS-say-SR-23D/CSR ASS-be-PA/PFV-23D/DSO=IND  
 'He remained talking with the missionary.'
- 369) *Nyi täŋgaŋi kuk̥ɲuä hui yatŋqä kimqe.*  
*nyi tä-ŋga-ŋi kuk̥ɲuä hn=i yatŋqä k-i-m-ŋqä-i*  
 1s this=TIME-GVN talk INDEF=F question 2s-do-1S/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'I'm going to ask you a question today. (literally 'question you a talk)'

Similarly the details about the 'money' in (370) are insignificant and the noun is incorporated into the verbal phrase whereas in (371) the money is significant, the noun phrase is phonologically distinct from the verbal phrase and the noun phrase identifying the recipient is moved out of the clause proper into the sentence frame as part of the strategy to avoid having two expanded arguments in a single clause.

- 370) *Nyi ymeqä ique mbqä äwikäqe.*  
*nyi ymeqä i-qu-e mbqä ä-w-i-k-qäqä-i*  
 1s child that=M-OJ money ASS-3-do-PA/PFV-1S/DSO=IND  
 'I gave the child (some) money.'

- 371) *Nyi ymeqä iqueyi, mbqä kuapänä äwikäqe.*  
*nyi ymeqä i-qu-e-yi mbqä kuapä=nä ä-w-i-k-qäqä=i*  
 1s child that=M=OJ=GVN money plenty=FCS ASS-3-do-PA/PFV-1s/DSO=IND  
 'I gave the child a lot of money.'

It is not always easy to tell, especially with written text, whether a particular unmodified token of such a noun is incorporated or not.

## 5 INTERCLAUSAL RELATIONS AND SENTENTIAL STRUCTURE

The preceding chapter focussed on the presentation of the various forms of the Menya verb and verbal phrase used to predicate individual events and states. The focus in this chapter will be on how Menya combines those forms into the complex, multi-propositional sentences that are the normal form of communication.

In traditional grammar and in current formal theories of grammar, a strict distinction is made between coordination and subordination. This dichotomy has been much challenged in recent decades, especially by functional grammarians. Many have proposed either a third category for clauses that are in some way dependent on but not embedded within a main clause<sup>98</sup> or else a continuum from coordination to subordination without sharp boundaries between categories anywhere along the continuum. Given that I am using the terms coordinate, dependent and subordinate in this presentation of Menya verb forms and inter-clausal relationships, a discussion of the specific ways I am using the terms is in order.

Haiman and Thompson begin their 1984 article with a summary of the problem of defining subordination: it has either been taken as "a primitive requiring no definition" or has been defined using criteria that "seem to be at best ex post facto rationalizations of our own (Western educated) 'intuitions', which renders them completely circular." They also point out the lack of definition of 'main' clauses to which subordinate clauses are contrasted (and subordinated). Their proposal is that inter-clausal relationships need to be described in terms of a set of independent properties yielding a multi-dimensional array of clause types rather than points along a single dimension. They begin by proposing seven such formal properties typically associated with subordinate clauses, pointing out that some of them can equally characterize coordinate clauses. They also indicate the need and intent to "consider semantic and discourse relationships between clauses" (511). Agreeing with them that formal, semantic and discourse properties are all relevant to a categorization of clause types and believing that coordination needs to be added to the list of terms lacking clear definition, I will begin the explanation of my use of the terms with a discussion of the formal, semantic and pragmatic ( $\approx$  discourse) properties of coordination.

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<sup>98</sup> Foley's 1986 description of dependent coordinate clauses for Papuan languages, summarized in 2.4, is one such example.

Webster defines 'coordinate' as a verb meaning "to put in the same order or rank" and as an adjective meaning "equal in rank, quality, or significance". It is well recognized that coordination is not limited to being a relationship between clauses but rather can take place at any level of structure in a language. Consider the following examples where the coordinated elements are highlighted:

1. Some people brush their teeth **before and after** every meal.
2. **Red and green** apples are equally delicious to some people.
3. Some people prefer **red apples**; others prefer **green apples**.
4. I like you and your being so easy to get along with.

In grammar, coordination is the joining of two or more units of the same type in a relationship of equality, but what constitutes sameness of type? As the last example shows, the units do not need to be formally similar to be coordinated – the coordinates in this instance are both nominal in the broadest sense of the word but are radically different in their internal make-up. When the units are very similar in form, as in the first three sample sentences, it is easier to determine sameness of type and the existence of coordination. Haiman, in his analysis of Hua (1980:391-439), differentiates between symmetrical and asymmetrical coordination, one of the differences being whether the verb forms of the conjuncts are both/all of the same verb type (either medial or final) or of different types (a mix of medial and final).

As I am using the term here, the coordination of clauses is a syntactic strategy with the discourse-pragmatic function of indicating that the clauses are equal in status and role in the development of the discourse and in their relationship with the rest of the sentence. Not only does such coordination not necessarily require that the coordinated elements be equal in form but it also does not necessarily tell anything of the semantic relationship between the components. Semantically, the relationship between two clauses can be described along at least two parameters – the temporal and the logical. Temporally, their relationship could be sequential (immediate or delayed), simultaneous (partial or complete overlap in time) or irrelevant (as in an unordered list). By logical relationship I mean the degree to which one event or situation impinges on the other, including various types of cause and reasoning. Based on Grice's (1977) maxim of relation, by virtue of their being predicated in a single sentence, coordinated clauses must have some semantic relationship. But by my definition of coordinated clauses, they could have any temporal or

logical relationship with each other, and those aspects of their relationship may or may not be made explicit by other lexical or syntactic means.

I believe that the same is actually true of at least some clauses in English joined by the conjunction 'and'. Accordingly, by way of illustration, consider the following examples:

John went to the park and Mary went to the swimming pool.

Because John has gone to the park and Mary (has gone) to the swimming pool, I am here alone.

The first sentence does not explicitly tell us when these events happened relative to each other or whether one impinged at all on the other but they are equally asserted as being factual. Similarly, in the second sentence, the John and Mary clauses are treated equally as presupposed facts and explanations of the asserted main clause without anything further being said of the relationship between them. (By implication both John and Mary are simultaneously still absent but the temporal relationship of their respective goings is still unknown and irrelevant.)

The above English examples also illustrate that such coordinated clauses form a more complex unit that may either stand alone as an independent sentence or be related in an unequal relationship with another clause. This packaging of clauses into larger units is an essential part of (at least) the Menya pattern of interclausal relationships. Menya speakers encode clauses with what I am calling *coordinate medial verb* forms (4.2.4.1.2 & 4.2.4.3.2) to indicate that they are equal in status (or role in the development of the discourse) with the clause or clauses to which they are coordinated. The coordinated clauses form a larger unit – a *COORDINATED CLAUSE COMPLEX* – and the last clause in the unit has a verb form indicating the relationship of the unit to the larger context. That last verb may be marked as a sentence-closing final verb, a dependent or subordinate medial form, a dependent final as in relative clauses, or even a deverbalized form used as a modifier, but that marking is operating on the coordinated clause complex rather than just on the last clause. The clause encoded with a coordinate medial verb is, therefore, dependent on the affixation on the last clause in the unit for specification of, at least, its role in the discourse. Clearly, then, dependency and coordinateness are distinct aspects of interclausal relationships, at least for Menya.

Not all Menya medial verbs, however, are coordinate medials. In the construction of a discourse, the speaker develops a theme by presenting propositions in an orderly fashion. Some of the propositions are



presented as primary to the development of the theme and others as secondary or background information to elaborate one of the propositions or entities referred to in the main line of the discourse. The events or propositions that constitute the main line of the discourse build on the foundation of all that has gone before just as a new layer of bricks builds on all the previous layers in a house, not just on the foundation. In a language like English, the normal or default medium for developing the theme is the use of coordinated, finite clauses whereas the background or secondary information is normally in the various kinds of what are traditionally called subordinate clauses.<sup>99</sup> This mapping of mainline propositions with coordinated, finite clauses is not the only theme-developing pattern exhibited in human languages, however. Many languages have been described as using a chaining strategy rather than a coordinating or co-ranking strategy. Givón (2001b:357) seeks to illustrate this alternative strategy using the English participial equi-subject chain as in:

Coming out of the house, stopping to check the mailbox, taking a look at the driveway and pausing to adjust his hat, Marvin turned around and froze.

All of the propositions in this sentence appear to be new events in the sequence of Marvin's activities but they are not all coordinated main clauses. The first four are reduced clauses building successively towards the pragmatic and structural head of the sentence – the final two coordinated clauses. There is considerable disagreement among linguists and grammarians as to how such participial clauses should be classified. The point here, for my purposes, is that the four participial clauses, collectively if not individually, develop the theme line without being equal in status to the last two clauses. Papuan languages with a medial verb system are considered prime examples of languages that use such a chaining strategy. Menya clauses encoded with what I am calling dependent medial verbs (4.2.4.3.1) indicate that the clause is developing the theme but they are not equal in status with the clause on which they are dependent in the way that coordinate medials are.

Whereas the coordinate medials indicate 'I'm still assembling this unit so do not assign it to a place in the discourse yet', the dependent medial says 'this is a unit that constitutes part of the main line'. Neither the coordinate nor the dependent medials (especially the SR forms) necessarily indicate anything of the

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<sup>99</sup> I recognize that I run the danger of inconsistent reasoning by referring to the traditional distinctions of clause types while trying to explain the inadequacy of those distinctions. I also recognize that secondary information is often presented in the form of independent sentences containing main clauses, not only in 'subordinate' clauses.

temporal or logical relationship between the marked clause and the matrix clause to which it is related. By the principle of iconicity, the order of the clauses with dependent medials will normally reflect the chronological order of the events but this is not a necessary part of the meaning or function of these any more than it is of English coordinate main clauses.

Traditionally, subordinate clauses are subcategorized into complement, relative and adverbial types, recognizing that they function as noun phrases, modifiers of nouns and modifiers of verbs or propositions<sup>100</sup>. Many recognize a significant difference between i) complement and relative clauses, which are embedded within their matrix clause, and ii) adverbial clauses, which are much more loosely connected to the clause to which they are related. Indeed, as Matthiessen and Thompson point out (1988:280) the so-called adverbial clause is often in relationship with a combination of clauses rather than with a single clause and thus cannot be said to be embedded within or part of any one of the clauses. This distinction is significant for Menya in that most complement and relative clauses are nominalized variations of final clauses whereas most adverbial clauses use the case-marked variants of medial verbs which I have called *subordinate medials* (4.2.4.1.1 & 4.2.4.3.1). These clauses are used in the sentence frame and elsewhere to provide background or secondary information, rather than developing the theme.

The distinction between Menya dependent and subordinate medials is not as sharp as that between them and the coordinate medials. The generalization can be made that subordinate medials are case-marked whereas dependent medials are marked as definite. (In the irrealis medial forms (4.2.4.2 and 4.2.4.4) this contrast is transparent. For the realis SR forms, as I stated at the beginning of 4.2.4.3.1, the DSR actor suffixes used most likely should be recognized as ending with the definite clitic =*t*<sup>101</sup>. For the realis DR forms, those marked with the time clitic =*yga* are functioning as dependents but I have made reference to the existence of a few forms that have the definite clitic after the actor suffix instead of a case marker, completing the parallelism.) By contrast, the coordinate medials do not use the same actor suffixes as the dependent and subordinate forms and they bear no further markers.

<sup>100</sup> The specific terminology here is borrowed from Thompson & Longacre 1985:172.

<sup>101</sup> Future versions of this grammar will probably reflect that, including adjusting all the examples containing a dependent SR form.

In his discussion of subordination in Papuan languages, Foley (1986:198-205) summarizes the similarities and differences between three types of verbs: (coordinate-)dependent, subordinate(-dependent) and independent. The following table summarizes my understanding of his generalizations.

Table 44. Foley's categorization of Papuan verb types

	tense/(ir)realis	illocutionary force	discourse function	general composition
coordinate-dependent (=medial)	not marked; under the scope of the independent	not marked; under the scope of the independent	main, asserted lines of the discourse	reduced; often SR/DR & sequential/simultaneous contrasts
subordinate-dependent	marked; can be different from the independent	not marked; always assertions, given, presupposed <sup>102</sup>	background information out of the main line of discourse	similar to independent but bearing subordinator instead of illocutionary force
independent (=final)	marked; applies to its coordinate dependents	marked; applies to its coordinate dependents	part of the ongoing development of the discourse	fully inflected

As should be clear by now, Menya does not have just these three distinctions and so does not fit this chart. For example, the features of Foley's coordinate-dependent category are divided between the Menya coordinate and dependent medials. Only when a coordinate medial clause is joined to an independent final does it match the above features for coordinate-dependent quite closely. Dependent medials are only partially under the scope of the tense and realis status of the independent final, not under the scope of the illocutionary force but are nevertheless part of the main asserted lines of the discourse. For the sake of clarification before elaborating the functions of the different verb forms and the clauses that contain them, they will be laid out in a table comparable to the above in order to highlight the ways Menya deviates from the generalized schema.

<sup>102</sup> Foley's calling subordinate clauses 'assertions' yet 'given and presupposed' may appear contradictory especially when he also states that coordinate-dependent medials "constitute the main, asserted lines of the discourse" (1986:200). The crucial difference, I believe, is that while coordinate-dependents come under the scope of the illocutionary force of the sentence and so are being actively asserted, questioned, commanded, etc., subordinate clauses are always assertions, treated as pre-established facts.

Table 45. Adaptation of Foley's categorization to Menya verb forms

	tense	(ir)realis	illocutionary force	discourse function	general composition
coordinate medials	not marked; under the scope of its matrix	not marked; under the scope of its matrix	not marked; dependent on its matrix	dependent on its matrix	SR/DR contrast; DR more similar to final
dependent medials	not marked; under the scope of the independent	marked; partially under the scope of the independent	not marked; always asserted	main, asserted lines of the discourse	marked as DEF; SR/DR contrast; DR more similar to final
subordinate medials	not marked; under the scope of the independent	marked; partially under the scope of the independent	not marked; always given, assertions, presupposed	background information out of the main line of discourse	marked for case; SR/DR contrast; DR more similar to final
dependent finals	marked; can be different from the independent	marked; can be different from the independent	not marked; always given, assertions presupposed	background information out of the main line of discourse	marked DEF or for case instead of illocutionary force
independent finals	marked; applies to its dependents	marked; applies to its dependents	marked; applies to its coordinate dependents	part of the ongoing development of the discourse	fully inflected for tense, aspect, status, illocutionary force

The other factors relative to interclausal relations and sentential structure that will be presented in this chapter are the use of the 'givenness' clitic =*ɲi* and that of conjunctions. Reference has been made earlier (2.2) to the sentence frame, which serves as a frame of reference for the remaining 'asserted' portion of the sentence. The frame most frequently consists of specification of one or more of i) the topical entity, ii) the spatial setting and iii) the temporal setting for what follows. Very frequently the frame is overtly marked by the 'givenness' clitic =*ɲi*<sup>103</sup>. Even after some thematic information has been given, a nominal or clausal unit can be marked with this clitic, indicating that the marked unit, if not all that has gone before, is being set as the frame for the remainder of the sentence. Since the spatial and temporal setting are often specified using a subordinate medial clause, reference will be made to the use of =*ɲi* throughout this chapter. The form and use of conjunctions will be specifically presented in 5.6.

<sup>103</sup> In both form and function, Menya =*ɲi* is a close parallel of Usan *eng* as described in Reesink 1987 and 1994. He identifies *eng*, and equivalent forms in other Papuan languages, as a topic marker, using 'topic' in the way Haiman does in his 1978 article. I label and gloss =*ɲi* as a 'given' marker to avoid multiple uses of 'topic'.

## 5.1 Medial clause chaining

It was pointed out in the preceding introduction that Papuan languages that have a medial verb system are considered prime examples of languages that use clauses that are dependent, rather than co-ranked equals, in a chaining strategy to present mainline, thematic material. In this section I will outline the way dependent SR medials, temporal subordinate DR medials and their irrealis equivalents are used in the Menya clause chaining construction.

### 5.1.1 Same-Referent chains

Example (372) presents three ordered events near the beginning of a personal narrative about a hunting expedition. The sentence begins with the temporal setting marked off as the sentence frame. The first two mainline events are encoded as clauses with a dependent SR medial and the third with a past-tense final verb, all indicating a first person plural group as actor. The events are assumed to be sequential and the first two are dependent on the last for the specification of their tense.

- 372) *Yähiquitäyi, buayä änaqe, buayä häyä hiopä hikuä qa*  
*yähiquitä-yi buayä ä-n-aqe buayä häyä hiopä hikuä qa*  
 morning=GVN food ASS-eat-1P/DSR sweet.potato new tobacco lime.powder bag  
*ämanyuaqe, qäuqä yätuqä qaqä qe ekuqe.*  
*ä-ma-mi-aqe qäuqä yä-tu-ŋqä qaqä qe ä-y-k-qäqu-i*  
 ASS-get-put.in-1P/DSR forest up=LOC=GOAL walk CERT ASS-go.up-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'In the morning we ate, put fresh sweet potato, tobacco and lime powder into our bags, and walked up into the forest.'

Similarly, in (373) and (374) the future and immediate future tense of the final verb, respectively, applies to the dependent medial also.

- 373) *"Yeqä yäüänä äquyepayi, maqŋqä*  
*ye=qä ye-uä=nä ä-quyep-ayi ma-q-n-qä*  
 1D=POSS 1D=POSS=FCS ASS-come.down-1D/DSR NEG-act-DETR-DVZR  
*päwenyueqä."*  
*p-wä-e-ni-ueä=qä*  
 come-go.down-1D/IRR-FUT-1D/DSO=QT  
 ' "We ourselves will come down and pass by unseen." '
- 374) *Nyi buayä änmi, nyi qaqä umqe.*  
*nyi buayä ä-n-mi nyi qaqä w-m-ŋqä=i*  
 1s food ASS-eat-1s/DSR 1s walk go-1s/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'I will eat and (then) go walking.'

As was pointed out in 4.2.4, the realis medial forms are the unmarked or normal choice for individuated propositions regardless of tense whereas the irrealis forms explicitly indicate either i) that there is some doubt as to whether a specific situation will actually occur or ii) that the situation is a generalization translatable by 'whenever', 'wherever', etc. In both (373) and (374) the speaker was talking about specific proposed acts to be performed by specific individuals, which are features of realis. The uncertain nature of all future events overrules those factors and necessitates an irrealis final form in the last clause. The medial clauses, however, while inheriting tense and the degree of uncertainty from the irrealis final, are nevertheless encoded as realis medials.

By contrast, when the speaker is talking of more generalized situations or of more generic actors, as is common in didactic and hortatory discourse, an irrealis medial verb is the appropriate form for mainline, non-final clauses. As stated in 4.2.4.4, what I am calling the generic SR medial without a case marker is the irrealis equivalent of the dependent SR form. Thus, in (375) the speaker is addressing the crowd at a village court and uses the second singular form in the generic sense of 'any of you'. The first two clauses contain dependent irrealis SR medials to indicate the generalized nature of the proposition while keeping them on the mainline of the discourse. The more natural English translation, 'If/whenever you come upon the person and see his face...' subordinates the earlier clauses rather than keeping them on the mainline<sup>104</sup>.

- 375) ...*si ämaqä ique äwimatqe, iqueqä hipeqüä du*  
*si ämaqä i-qu=e ä-w-ima-t-qä=i i-qu=e-qä hipeqüä n-tu*  
 2s man that=M-OJ ASS-3-meet-2S/IRR-GEN=DEF that=M-OJ=POSS face level=LOC  
*hiuqä äqundqe, äyguä ttqi.*  
*hiuqä ä-w-q-n-t-qä=i äyguä t-t-ni-ya=i*  
 eye ASS-3-act-DETR-2S/IRR-GEN=DEF good say-2S/IRR-FUT-2S/DSO=IND  
 '...should you come upon the man and should you see his face, you will speak well (in court).'

Though dependent on the final clause for the specification of tense, these chained clauses are independent in most other ways. In (376) the final clause contains a question but the first clause, containing a dependent SR verb form, is nevertheless an assertion; in fact the speech is an interjection addressed to the narrator who has just mentioned that he spent three weeks in the capital city. The asserted status of the

<sup>104</sup> The more marked translation using 'should' will also be considered subordinate by most speakers but it is not overtly marked that way.

medial clause is not, therefore, affected by the mood or illocutionary force of the final clause. Similarly, in (377) the negative in the final clause does not affect the dependent medial clause.

- 376) *Iṭi tri wikä äpmapiyi änä ikuwi?*  
*i=ṭi tri wikä ä-pma-piyi änä i-k-uwä=i*  
 that=GVN three week ASS-be-23P/DSR how do-PA/PFV-23P/DSO=IND  
 'Okay, you stayed three weeks and what did you do?'
- 377) "Suqä enyqä iqätä quwä meqetä imäkmipqe,  
*suqä enyqä i-qä-tä quwä ma-qä=i-tä imäk-mit-p-qä=i*  
 custom lazy do-DVZR=& steal get-DVZR=DEF=& make-SR/DUR-23P/IRR-GEN=DEF  
*qäyunä mäpmeqä ipnuwiqä."*  
*qäyu=nä ma-pma-qä i-p-ni-uwä=i-qä*  
 correct-FCS NEG-be-DVZR do-23P/IRR-FUT-23P/DSO=IND=QT  
 "Should you go on practicing laziness and theft, you will not live properly."

Example (377) also demonstrates again, as was stated in 4.2.4.3.1, that dependent SR verb forms do not indicate the relative tense relationship between the marked clause and its matrix proposition. Whereas the natural tendency toward iconic ordering of events produces the fact that most dependent SR medial clauses are sequential with and prior to the matrix event, the performing of bad behaviour and not living properly are simultaneous. Similarly, iconic ordering would lead one to believe that the eating and the going in (378) were sequentially ordered whereas in fact the actual events being referred to were simultaneous.

- 378) *Kquä hui yatuiyqanḡa, kḡui änayi, Pipisi täukoḡi*  
*kḡuä hn=i ya=tu-i-q-anḡ-ḡga kḡuä=i ä-n-ayi Pipisi täukoḡä=i*  
 sugar INDEF=F 1D-cut-BEN-PFV-DR=TIME sugar=DEF ASS-eat-1D/DSR Pipisi riverbed=DEF  
*äquyeqekuee.*  
*ä-quyeqe-k-ueä=i*  
 ASS-go.down-PA/PFV-1D/DSO=IND  
 'She cut us some sugarcane then we ate the sugar and (=while) went down the Pipisi riverbed.'

A common feature of sentence structure in Menya, especially in narrative discourse, is the repetition at the start of a sentence of the final clause from the previous sentence. This is often referred to as tail-head linkage or recapitulation<sup>105</sup>. As will be shown at various points in this chapter, the form of the verb used in this opening clause varies greatly. As is revealed by a comparison of (379), which contains a repetition, and

<sup>105</sup> The term tail-head recapitulation is the most widely accepted term but I find that term confusing in that it labels as 'tail' the final (and often most important) clause from the previous sentence and as 'head' the initial clause of the new sentence. Given its joining function I would personally prefer a term such as conjunctive recapitulation.

(380), which does not, there is no significant difference in clause or sentence structure when the opening clause is repetitive. I interpret this to indicate that even when the first clause is a repetition of the last from the previous sentence and thus filling a conjunctive function, it can still be treated as a mainline event and encoded in the chaining structure<sup>106</sup>.

- 379) ...*Menyāma buŋqä* *qe* *äpāwäkäqe*. *Menyāma*  
*Menyāma m=tu=ŋqä* *qe* *ä-p-wä-k-qäqä=i* *Menyāma*  
 Menyāma down-LOC-GOAL CERT ASS-come-go.down-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND Menyāma  
*buŋqä* *äpāwiqe*, *Menyāma ätimäuäqe*,...  
*m=tu=ŋqä* *ä-p-wä-äqe* *Menyāma ä-timäu-äqe*  
 down-LOC-GOAL ASS-come-go.down-3S/DSR Menyāma ASS-arrive-3S/DSR  
 '...he went down to Menyāma. He went down to Menyāma, arrived at Menyāma...'
- 380) ...*hiuŋä* *äqunämiŋiyi*. *Ätätqiyäqe*, *ätiuyäqe*,  
*hiuŋä* *ä-w-q-n-miŋ-iyä=i* *ä-tätqi-äqe* *ä-tuwi-äqe*  
 eye ASS-3-act-DETR-PA/IPFV-23D/DSO=IND ASS-cover-3S/DSR ASS-remove-3S/DSR  
*ne qe* *äŋgäqäqe*.  
*ne qe* *ä-n-k-qäqu=i*  
 1P CERT ASS-eat-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 '...they were watching her. She covered (food in the ground oven), uncovered it and we ate.'

Alternatively, the repeating clause can be marked with the givenness clitic =*ŋi* to indicate that the clause is given as the frame for the main part of the sentence and, arguably therefore, not as a mainline event.

- 381) *Itaŋga* *yānanjuäqä iqu* *aŋgi äquyepäkäqäqe*.  
*i-ät-aŋg-ŋga* *yānanjuäqä i=qu* *aŋgi ä-quyep-k-qäqä=i*  
 do-IPFV-DR=TIME sky.dweller that=M again ASS-come.down-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
*Aŋgu äquyepäqenŋi*, *ti ätukäqe*.  
*aŋgi ä-quyep-äqe=ŋi* *ti ä-w-t-k-qäqä=i*  
 again ASS-come.down-3S/DSR=GVN this ASS-3-say-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'That being done, the sky-dweller came back down. Having come back down, he told them this.'

As (382) shows, however (and there is no repetition involved here), the givenness clitic can reoccur within the same sentence. In this and other such instances, the events predicated are new information and seemingly on the mainline. It would appear then that while the clitic marks its clause as being (part of) the

<sup>106</sup> In his typological overview of tail-head linkage, de Vries (to appear) contrasts linkage clauses that are chained with those that are subordinated in other Papuan languages.



frame of reference for the following predication(s), it does not necessarily affect the mainline status of its clause. It is not clear at this stage of analysis what factors condition the speaker's decision in this regard.

- 382) "Ayä äyguä wämqänä"      *tä*      *iqeyi*,      *ayä änä*  
*ayä äyguä wä-m=yqä-nä*      *t-ä*      *i-äqe=qi*      *ayä änä*  
house good sleep-1S/IRR=GOAL=FCS say-3S/CSR do-3S/DSR=GVN house how

*mimäkäqä*      *iqeyi*,      *äukäqäqe*.  
*ma-imäk-qä*      *i-äqe=qi*      *ä-w-k-qäqä=i*  
NEG-make-DVZR do-3S/DSR=GVN ASS-go-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND

'He thought "I'm going to sleep in a good place" and didn't make a house and went on.'

### 5.1.2 Switch-reference

It may have been noted in (380) that, although dependent SR forms are being used, there is a change in ACTOR from third singular to first plural. In each case the actor is also SUBJECT and, as far as can be determined, CLAUSE TOPIC. This is not anomalous since the person preparing the food, the two mentioned as watching in the previous sentence, and the narrator were all included in the 'we' who ate. Papuan switch-reference systems vary greatly in which medials they require, allow or forbid when there is overlap but not identity between the tracked referent of the marked clause and that of the following clause<sup>107</sup>. Only when a significant change occurs will a different-referent form be used but the degree of flexibility and relevant contexts for determining significance vary greatly from language to language. Traditional analysis of Papuan switch-reference systems presents the switch as a change of subject (actor for Foley 1986) from one clause to another but then the analyst (beginning with Longacre 1972:7-15) has had to explain the circumstances in which exceptions can or must occur. I have found the exceptions for Menya to be such as to make it more insightful to present the sameness or difference as being in terms of the most topical entity which clearly designates it as a pragmatic rather than syntactic device. Roberts 1988 presents a similar conclusion for Amele and other Papuan languages<sup>108</sup>. The specific schema that I am proposing is that the topical entity being tracked and coded is, ideally, the clause topic (which, as was stated in 2.3.2, is also the subject and actor in most instances). When the clause topic is different from the higher level topic that is being maintained through a longer stretch of text, however, the speaker has options in how to code the conflict, yielding the various anomalies that occur.

<sup>107</sup> Reesink 1983 reports a detailed study of this aspect of the switch-reference system of a number of Papuan languages.

<sup>108</sup> Stirling (1993), building on Roberts and others, goes a step further and proposes that switch-reference is not primarily tracking participants at all but is an indicator of change in the flow of discourse triggered by any of several features; most such changes do involve a change of participant roles but many do not.

When a Menya speaker deems that a significant change is taking place at a certain point in the discourse, a DR medial will be used. Whereas there is a realis dependent SR verb paradigm used in the chaining of mainline clauses, there is not an equivalent DR paradigm in regular usage<sup>109</sup>. Rather, the subordinate DR forms bearing the temporal clitic =*nga* are used in this function, as in (383) and (384). For the irrealis generic DR forms however, there is a contrast between the dependent paradigm bearing the definite clitic =*i*, as in (385), and the subordinate paradigm that bears a case clitic. It is debatable whether it is appropriate to differentiate between mainline DR predicate uses and temporal subordinate predicate uses for the realis DR forms. As will be shown in 5.4, there are examples of these forms that are quite clearly subordinated in contrast to the DR examples given in this section which are interpreted as being in a chaining relationship but which could also be translated by a 'when' clause and considered part of the setting for the next clausal unit. It is also distinctly possible that a diachronic shift is taking place, in which the temporal subordinate forms are expanding in use to fill this mainline chaining function, possibly replacing an older DR paradigm that was not case-marked. Given the strong tendency to iconic ordering of predication, it is natural that the temporal form be the one that expands to fill the gap.

- 383) *Eeqänä qäpunä äpeyani, aṅä yäpä yängisa pmeqangäqunga,*  
*eeqä=nä qäpu=nä ä-p-y-ani aṅä yäpä yä=ngisa pma-q-aṅg-qäqu=nga*  
 all-FCS CMPL-FCS ASS-come-go.up-1P/DSR place inside up-side be-PFV-DR-1P/DSO=TIME  
*qe änäma äyapqe.*  
*qe ä-na-ma ä-yap-q-qäqä=i*  
 CERT ASS-1P-get ASS-come.up-PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'We all went up and were inside (the bus) and he took us.'
- 384) *Äpäwani, ne eeqänä iqu täyā qäqänäṅi tqäüätangäqunga,*  
*ä-p-w-ani ne eeqä=nä i-qu täyā qäqä-näyā=i tqäü-ät-aṅg-qäqu=nga*  
 ASS-come-go-1P-DSR 1P all-FCS that=M near near-very=DEF stand-IPFV-DR-1P/DSO=TIME  
*qe änewäsäugäqe.*  
*qe ä-na-wäsäu-q-qäqä=i*  
 CERT ASS-1P-decide-PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'We went across and stood very near him and he divided us (into two groups).'
- 385) "...*tqangutqe, ...täqinyqä quyepqäpṅqä.*  
*t-q-aṅg-ä-tqä=i tä=qi=yqä quyep-q-p-yqä*  
 say-PFV-DR-3S/IRR-GEN=DEF this-LOC=GOAL come.down-PFV-23P/IRR=GOAL  
 'in the event that he says "...", ...you should come down here.'

<sup>109</sup> As was stated in footnote 89, a few forms have been encountered that point to either a former or an emergent dependent DR paradigm that end with the 'definite' clitic =*i* without any of the case clitics.

In both (383) and (384), the first two events are performed by a group, and the last by another person. The choice of verb forms is as would be expected for a language with a switch-reference system: an SR form in the first clause but a DR form in the second clause to indicate that a change in referent is about to take place. This pattern is also exhibited in almost all elicited sentences. The main context for exceptions found in elicited examples occurs when an impersonal verb (4.1.2.4) is involved, as in (386). With an impersonal verb such as 'be sick', the actor suffix is always third singular (with no clear referent) and the sick person is denoted by the verb prefix as the most salient affected entity. In (386), the first and third predications are clearly performed by the old man. Since the different-referent verb form in the second clause indicates a change of referent, the verb in the first clause should also be a DR form, for the sake of consistency. Like many other Papuan languages, however, Menya uses an SR form in the clause preceding the impersonal clause and a DR form in the impersonal clause.

- 386) *Qoyaqä iqu wäuyä iäqe, yaqä uyäqanga, iqueqä*  
*qoyaqä i-qu wäuyä i-äqe yaqä w-i-q-ang-nga i-qu-e-qä*  
 old.man that=M work do-3S/DSR sick 3-do-PFV-DR=TIME that=M-OJ=POSS  
*ayiyqä äukäqe.*  
*ayä=i-u-qqä ä-w-k-qäqä-i*  
 house=DEF-LOC=GOAL ASS-go-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'The old man was working, became sick and went home.'

It will be noted that there is identity between the subject/actor of the first and the object/undergoer of the second but no such identity between the subject/actor of the second clause and any participant in the third and final clause. One possibility, advocated by Foley (1986:191), is that the switch-reference system is monitoring actor co-reference with any participant in the following clause.

The same pattern of switch-reference usage is also found when a clause predicating the weather pattern (387) or time of day (388) is inserted into the chain of events. In these there can be no claim that there is identity between the subject/actor of the first clause and any participant in the second so Foley's proposal does not work for these instances.

- 387) ...*buayä äñayi*, *piyä hukä iqaygañi*, *yeqä*  
*buayä ä-n-ayi* *piyä hukä i-q-ayg=nga=ñi* *ye=qä*  
 food ASS-eat-1D/DSR rain stop do-PFV-DR=TIME=GVN 1D=POSS  
*ayiqäyqä qe äyapkuee.*  
*ayä=i-qä=ñqä qe ä-yap-k-ueä=i*  
 place=DEF=LOC=GOAL CERT ASS-come.up-PA/PFV-1D/DSO=IND  
 'we ate and when the rain finished we came up to our place.'
- 388) *Im äpmenjaqänaqe hiunji quemisqä äyä heqayga*, *yññä qa*  
*i-m ä-pma-njaqän-aqe hiunji quemisqä äyä h-e-q-ayg=nga* *yññä qa*  
 that ASS-be-DUR-1P/DSR day noon just NEU-be-PFV-DR=TIME bird string.bag  
*ämamimä äpeyaqe...*  
*ä-ma-mi-mä ä-p-y-aqe*  
 ASS-get-put.in-SER/SEM ASS-come-go.up-1P/DSR  
 'We remained there (a long time) and when it was noon we gathered the birds into bags and went up...'

Furthermore, the inanimacy of the actor in these examples cannot be the conditioning factor because human referents can also be overlooked in the tracking as in (389) and (390). The first is from a text about the habits of a particular bird species. The two highlighted verbs are dependent SR medial forms (one realis, the other generic) but the actor in the sentence changes from the bird to a person and back to the bird, and a syntactically-based or semantically-based switch-reference system would require that both of these be DR forms. Similarly in (390) a newly married couple is being instructed on proper behaviour and in this sentence are being advised to teach their children proper behaviour so that they in turn will behave properly. The subject change from the parents to the children should require a DR form for the highlighted verb but an SR form is used instead.

- 389) *Qäpunä imäkeäqe*, *iñgayi* *ämaqä hyqu* *äpäyätä*  
*qäpu-nä imäk-e-äqe i=nga=ñi* *ämaqä hn-qu* *ä-p-y-ät-ä*  
 CMPL=FCS make-put-3s/DSR that=TIME=GVN person INDEF=M ASS-come-go.up-SR-3s/CSR  
*qui imäkätqe iqu ämaqä iqueqä yoqe äutän.*  
*qui imäk-ät-qä=i i-qu ämaqä i-qu=e-qä yoqä=i ä-w-t-ä-n*  
 bad make-3s/IRR-GEN=DEF that=M person that=M-OJ=POSS name=DEF ASS-3-say-3s/IRR-FUT  
 'It finishes making (its house) that then should any person come and destroy it, he says the person's name.'
- 390) *känakitänä kanikukutänä suqä e*  
*kä-na=ki-tä=nä kä-an=i-qu-ku-tä=nä suqä e*  
 3-mother=2s-&=FCS 3-father=DEF=M=2s-&=FCS custom thus  
*ämotuqamisiyqe*, *ymeqäqua qeyaqä suqä du*  
*ä-w-mätuqa-mit-iny-qä=i ymeqä=qu=a qe=yaqä suqä n-tu*  
 ASS-3-show-DUR-23D/IRR-GEN=DEF child=M=PL 2D=POSS custom level=LOC

*qānaknā iqāpnuwāḡqā.*  
*qānaki=nā i-q-p-ni-uwā=ḡqā*  
 follow=FCS do-PFV-23P/IRR-FUT-23P/DSO=GOAL

'Should you their mother and father go on teaching customs in this way, the children will follow in your customs.'

The most efficient explanation of the Menya switch reference system seems to be one based on the pragmatic factor of topicality with the recognition that there can be several levels of topicality operating at the same time. At the lowest level, the clause, the SUBJECT (who is for most verbs also its ACTOR) is the ideal entity to be chosen as the CLAUSAL TOPIC but there can be a different topic at each higher level of structure – the complex clause unit, the sentence and even the discourse. An SR form tells the addressee that the referent is retaining its topical status whereas a DR form says the referent is losing either the topical status that it has had or its claim to potential status as the subject of a clause. Being a pragmatic category, there is considerable flexibility for the author in the assignment of topicality. In the common pattern exhibited in (387) and (388), the speaker has used an SR form in the first clause to indicate maintenance of topic status. The appearance of a different entity as the subject of the next clause constitutes a potential conflict. Whether or not that entity does receive any degree of topical status is not necessarily an issue; using a DR form informs the hearer to 'forget this guy' as far as any ongoing topicality is concerned. Example (389) differs in that, because the subject/actor is the non-referential 'any person', the speaker does not consider the referent to pose a conflict and so uses the coordinate SR form, *āpāyātā*, indicating the continuity of topic status.

One of the topicality-assignment options for the speaker is to assign two participants equal status at any level, which results in the more expected use of the switch-reference system. This is particularly common when a dialogue is being reported, as in (391)<sup>110</sup>. The text is about a mythical snake and the conversation here is between the snake and the village men. The men are not mentioned further in the story so their topicality is purely local but nevertheless they share the snake's topical status through this interchange, as shown by the use of DR medials at each change of speaker.

- |      |  |                      |           |           |
|------|--|----------------------|-----------|-----------|
| 391) | <i>"Suāḡqā kiḡḡḡḡikā?"</i>               | <i>tuqāḡḡa,</i>      | <i>ti</i> | <i>qe</i> |
|      | <i>sā=ḡqā k-i-n-q-aḡḡ-i=kā</i>           | <i>w-t-q-aḡḡ=ḡḡa</i> | <i>ti</i> | <i>qe</i> |
|      | what=GOAL 2S-do-DETR-PFV-DR-3S/ASO=INFOQ | 3-say-PFV-DR=TIME    | thus      | CERT      |

<sup>110</sup> See the discussion following (423) regarding the use of coordinate DR forms without a final clause.

*ätukäqe.* "Nyi apäkängqä nyiŋganyiqä." E  
*ä-w-t-k-qäqä=i* nyi apäkä-ŋqä n-i-n-q-aŋg-i=qä  
 ASS-3-say-3S/DSO=IND 1S woman=GOAL 1S-do-DETR-PFV-DR-3S/ASO=QT thus  
*tuqanyagi,* apäkä huaqui äwikuwi.  
*w-t-q-aŋg-ŋga=ŋi* apäkä hn-aqu-i ä-w-i-k-uwä=i  
 3-say-PFV-DR=TIME=GVN woman INDEF=DL=OJ ASS-3-do-PA/PFV-23P/DSO=IND  
 'What do you want?' they said to him and he told them this. "I want woman." He said that then they gave him two women.'

Example (392) comes about two-thirds of the way through a text about a hunting trip that lasted several days<sup>111</sup>. Prior to this point in the story, a group of men that includes the speaker have been away on a hunt and they have been the primary topic throughout. From this point on however the story relates the contrastive activities of the speaker and the family members introduced in this sentence. To show that the speaker's group is no longer retaining its topical status, a DR medial is used in the first predication.

- 392) *Ayäqi timäuqaunga neqä ymeqä apäkitä, qoyaŋä*  
*aŋä-qi timäu-q-aŋg-qäqu-ŋga ne-qä ymeqä apäkä=i-tä qoyaŋä*  
 place-LOC arrive-PFV-DR-1P/DSO=TIME 1P=POSS child woman=DEF-& old.person  
*hiyaqutäŋi hiuŋä änaqämbiyi,...*  
*hn=i-aqu-tä-ŋi hiuŋä ä-na-q-n-piyi*  
 INDEF=F=DL=&=GVN eye ASS-1P-act-DETR-23P/DSR  
 'We arrived home and our family and two old women saw us then...'

It was pointed out above, exemplified by (387), that weather predications do not normally displace the higher level topic. This is not always the case however. Example (393) is seven sentences earlier in the same text as (387), and introduces the same rainfall. Presumably because of its significant affect on the events being narrated, the rainfall is assigned topical status and the author and his companion are accordingly referenced by a DR medial even though they are still prominent in the next clause.

- 393) ...*täkyiu timäuqanyueäŋgaŋi, piyä qe äyaqäkäqe.*  
*täkyä=i-u timäu-q-aŋg-ueä-ŋga=ŋi piyä qe ä-ya-q-k-qäqä=i*  
 fence=DEF-LOC arrive-PFV-DR-1D/DSO=TIME=GVN rain CERT ASS-1D-act-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 '...when we arrived at the cattle fence, it started to rain on us.'

The next clause begins with tail-head linkage using a DR form returning the topicality to the two people but the rain continues to be significant for several more clauses.

Expansion or reduction of the topical entity does not necessarily trigger the use of a DR form, as noted at the beginning of this section. Reesink (1983) and Roberts (1988) report that, in Papuan switch-reference

<sup>111</sup> The full text is one of those given as an appendix.

systems, a reduction from a larger group to an individual or smaller yet inclusive sub-group is less likely to require or allow a DR form than is the expansion of the original group. In the elicitation of isolated sentences, the pattern Menya shows is in agreement with this generalization: only an SR form is acceptable when reduction is involved but either SR or DR is allowed when the referent is expanding to include more people. In natural text however, an SR form is almost always used. If the argument I have made here is correct and switch-reference is a pragmatic (topical entity) rather than syntactic (subject) or semantic (actor) tracking device, then the pattern of overlap may not be significant except as it applies to sentences without a context. Example (394) provides an interesting case study. The first clause uses a dependent SR form to predicate that the group including the speaker remained for three weeks; the next clause informs that the two men that the speaker was visiting bought plane tickets home for him and the man travelling with him. Assuming that Reuben and Joseph were among the 'we' of the first clause, this could be taken as an example of the actor reducing from first plural to second dual and an SR form being used because of that referential overlap. In the analysis I am proposing, however, the SR form is appropriate, if not required, because the topical entity throughout the sentence is the speaker and his companion<sup>112</sup>.

- 394) *Tri wikä äpmeqe, po iqueŋi Madenŋi, Rupenä iqutä*  
*tri wikä ä-pma-aqe po i-qu-e-ŋi Made-ŋi Rupenä i-qu-tä*  
 three week ASS-be-1P/DSR four that=M-OJ=GVN Monday=GVN Reuben that=M-&  
*Josepä iqutä balusi mbqä äyekiyi.*  
*Josepä i-qu-tä balusi mbqä ä-ya-i-k-iyä-i*  
 Joseph that=M-& plane money ASS-1D-dö-PA/PFV-23D/DOS=IND  
 'We remained for three weeks and on the Monday of the fourth week Reuben and Joseph  
 bought plane tickets for the two of us.'

## 5.2 Medial clause coordination

### 5.2.1 Coordinate SR medial construction

Clauses encoded with a coordinate SR medial verb form are, in accordance with the definition given in the introduction to this chapter, equal in pragmatic status (or role in the development of the discourse) and syntagmatic relationship with the clause or clauses to which they are coordinated. That is, the coordinated clauses form a single complex unit whose relationship with the rest of the sentence is coded via the form of the last verb in the complex, whether it be a final, a dependent medial, a subordinate medial or a deverbal

<sup>112</sup> This is in essence the same conclusion Reesink (1983:229) reaches in stressing the importance of pragmatic considerations as "the decisive factor for choosing either SS or DS affixation on medial verbs."

form. On the dependent-independent parameter, the coordinate medial clauses are actually more dependent than the dependent medials used in the chains described above and could more fully be labelled as coordinate-dependent clauses<sup>113</sup>.

In (395), the speaker reports three events that he had performed and chooses to code the first with a dependent SR form, but the second with coordinate SR form, the third being of necessity a final form. The overall sentence structure is, therefore, a two-unit chain with the first being a single clause and the second being a coordinate complex. The last two clauses in (396) similarly form a two-clause coordinated complex.

- 395) *Nyi täyāque*      *äpākmi,*      *ŋqä*      *yuquayä ämetmä*      *ŋqä*  
*nyi täyā-qu=e*      *ä-pāk-mi*      *n-qä*      *yuqauyä ä-ma-ät-m*      *n-qä*  
 1s    possum=M-OJ    ASS-kill-1s/DSR    1s-POSS    cargo      ASS-get-SR-1s/CSR    1s-POSS  
*añiqinyqä*      *qe*      *äpāwākäqe.*  
*añä=i-qi-ŋqä*      *qe*      *ä-p-wä-k-qäqä=i*  
 place=DEF=LOC=GOAL    CERT    ASS-come-go.down-PA/PFV-1s/DSO=IND  
 'I killed the possum, got my belongings and went down to my home.'

- 396) *Yätapāqayga*      *ye*      *ämamäŋi,*      *yeqä*      *aŋä*      *bu*      *pŋqä*  
*ya-tap-q-aŋg-ŋga*      *ye*      *ä-ma-mä=ŋi*      *ye-qä*      *aŋä*      *m-tu*      *pŋqä*  
 1D-GIVE-PFV-DR=TIME    1D    ASS-GET-SER/SEM=GVN    1D-POSS    house    down=LOC    put  
*eäta,*      *hiqäqä qe*      *äwäkuee.*  
*e-ät-a*      *hiqäqä qe*      *ä-wä-k-ueä=i*  
 be-SR-1D/CSR: sleep    CERT    ASS-go.down-PA/PFV-1D/DSO=IND  
 'He gave us (the things) and, having taken them, we put them in our house and slept.'

Whereas the coordinated events in (395) and (396) are sequential, those in (397) predicate a simultaneous going around and looking in the underground workings of a hydro-power plant. Thus the nature of the temporal relationship between the coordinated clauses is not a conditioning factor in the decision to use coordinate medials.

- 397) *Mäm*      *hiuŋä*      *äqunātan*      *mäm*      *ikitqunŋue.*  
*m=m*      *hiuŋä*      *ä-w-q-n-ät-an*      *m=m*      *ikä-ätq-äŋ-qäqu=i*  
 down=unseen eye    ASS-3-act-DETR-SR-1P/CSR    down=unseen    tour-PRGV-IPFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'We went around deep underground looking at (what was there).'

A third temporal relationship – unordered sequence – is also encoded in the coordinate medial complex. In (398) the actors remain in one location for a time while they chew betel nut, smoke and talk.

<sup>113</sup> This is the same expression that Foley coins (1986:177) but only in contrast with subordinate-dependents.



These events cannot all be simultaneous with each other and the three activities are in no fixed order. (The compounding of 'say' and 'be' may well imply that the talking was throughout the time.)

- 398) *Päyā äsätan* *hiopä itan* *quea ätqämanmiŋque.*  
*päyā ä-s-ät-an* *hiopä i-ät-an* *quea ä-t-qäma-n-miŋ-qäqu-i*  
 betel ASS-chew-SR-1P/CSR tobacco DO-SR-1P/CSR talk ASS-say-be-DETR-PA/IPFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'We were (there) chewing betel nut, smoking and talking for a while.'

For this unordered sequence relationship, the matrix clause is sometimes the verb *i* 'do' in a dummy function, as in (399), rather than predicating an additional event. This structure parallels one of the forms of symmetrical coordination that Haiman (1980:431) describes for Hua.

- 399) ...*ye aŋä sua ämäyetuqetä,* *wasiŋqä sua ämäyetuqetä,*  
*ye aŋä pu=a ä-ye-mätuqa-ät-ä* *wasi-ŋqä pu=a ä-ye-mätuqa-ät-ä*  
 1D house DIM=PL ASS-1D-show-SR-3S/CSR wash=GOAL DIM=PL ASS-1D-show-SR-3S/CSR  
*buayä häkiyāŋqä ämäyetuqetä* *qe ikäqe.*  
*buayä häkiyā-ŋqä ä-ye-mätuqa-ät-ä* *qe i-k-qäqä=i*  
 food cook=GOAL ASS-1D-show-SR-3S/CSR CERT do-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 '...he showed us the house things, the things for washing and the things for cooking food.'

Whereas the dependent medial clauses are outside of the scope of mood, modality and polarity of their matrix clause, the coordinate medial clauses are not. In (400) the highlighted clauses both contain the question word *änä* and are under the scope of the dubitative mood clitic =*ti* (2.2.4) on the following final verb, indicating that the speaker is not asking a question but expressing his own wonder. In (401) the imperative force of the hortative form in the final clause applies equally to the coordinate medial clause. In (402) the negative polarity as well as the deontic modality apply equally to all three clauses.

- 400) *Hikä mŋä änä ipu* *ätäumiŋuwäti;* *masinäqä*  
*hikä mŋä änä i-ät-pu* *ä-täu-miŋ-uwä=ti* *masinäqä*  
 stone axe<sup>114</sup> how do-SR-23P/CSR ASS-cut-PA/IPFV-23P/DSO=DUBIT machine  
*änä itä* *äptämiŋqäti?*  
*änä i-ät-ä* *ä-pt-miŋ-qäqä=ti*  
 how do-SR-3S/CSR ASS-dig-PA/IPFV-3S/DSO=DUBIT  
 'I wonder how they used tools and cut the rock or how a machine cut the rock.'
- 401) "Si yaqueqä hiawiŋäqu äpäsätn *tä uyeyä.*"  
*si yaqueqä hiawiŋä=qu* *ä-päk-ät-n* *tä uy-e-t-yä*  
 2s pig black=M ASS-kill-SR-2S/CSR fire burn-put-2S/IRR=QT  
 'Kill the black pig and put it in the fire.'

<sup>114</sup> This term is used more generally for any steel tool.

- 402) *Iyä qe mākā āunāpu* *ākasuwā ātnāpu*  
*i-yi qe mākā ā-u-n-āt-pu* *ākasuwā ā-t-n-āt-pu*  
 that=GVN but fight ASS-shoot-DETR-SR-23P/CSR anger ASS-say-DETR-SR-23P/CSR  
*mauyäqqä iqāpn.*  
*ma-uyäqn-qā i-q-p-ni*  
 NEG-divide-DVZR do-PFV-23P/IRR-FUT  
 'But y'all are not to fight, argue and divide yourselves.'

At least for negation, however, this transitivity is not obligatory. Two sentences before (402), the author used (403) to summarize what he had already said to his son and, rather than the negation in the latter clause applying to both members of the coordination, the positive-negative contrast is in focus. Conversely in (404)<sup>115</sup> the same author in the same text chooses to specify both conjuncts as negative.

- 403) *Suqā iyi itn iyi miqā pa iqättyqā.*  
*suqā i-yi i-āt-n i-yi ma-i-qā pa i-q-t-tyqā*  
 custom that=GVN do-SR-2s/CSR that=GVN NEG-do-DVZR do not do-PFV-2s/IRR=GOAL  
 'You are to do those customs and not do those (others).'
- 404) *Āmaqā huiuyqā tuwāngi kukyuā matqā pa ipu,*  
*āmaqā hn=i-u-tyqā tuwā=ngi kukyuā ma-t-qā pa i-āt-pu*  
 person INDEF=F-OJ=GOAL back=LOC talk NEG-say-DVZR do not do-SR-23P/CSR  
*ākasuwā matqā pa iqäpyqā.*  
*ākasuwā ma-t-qā pa i-q-p-tyqā*  
 anger NEG-say-DVZR do not do-PFV-23P/IRR=GOAL  
 'You should not gossip (talk behind the back) about other people or talk in anger.'

With the possible exception of (402)<sup>116</sup>, all the examples given so far in this section have shown coordination with a final clause. As was stated above in the introduction to 5.2.1 however, the matrix clause can be of any type, since it is encoding the relationship of coordinated complex to its context. The following examples show coordination with a dependent SR clause, a subordinate DR clause, a generic SR clause and a generic DR clause respectively. At appropriate points in the remainder of this chapter, examples will be given of such coordination within embedded constructions such as relative clause and nominalized clauses.

<sup>115</sup> The medial form *ipu* in this example is ambiguous as to whether it is a coordinate SR form or the more explicit simultaneous SR form (4.2.4.3.3) since morphophonemic rules allow for the complete assimilation of the diagnostic *-āt* morpheme. Since the simultaneous SR form is a subset of the coordinate SR, the point made here about the optionality of the scope of negation remains valid.

<sup>116</sup> In presenting the normal negative construction in 4.3.3 I proposed that it was actually a clause that was being negated, deverbilized and embedded as an adverbial modifier to the matrix verb. If that is correct, then (402) is showing a three-clause coordinated unit being embedded as modifier to the final verb.

- 405) ...*quwqä buayä änäpu*                      *äpmapiyi*              *tä hiuḡä*  
           *qu-qä buayä ä-n-ät-pu*                      *ä-pma-piyi*              *tä hiuḡä*  
           3P-POSS food    ASS-eat-SR-23P/CSR    ASS-be-23P/DSR    this eye

*äquḡuwi.*

*ä-w-q-n-k-uwä=i*

ASS-3-act-DETR-PA/PFV-23P/DSO=IND

'...they sat and ate their food and saw this.'

- 406) *Qu buayä*              *hikä ätuyäpu*                      *iuqḡḡuwäḡḡa,*              *nyi yḡḡä*  
           *qu buayä*              *hikä ä-tuwi-ät-pu*                      *iu-q-aḡḡ-uwä=ḡḡa*              *nyi yḡḡä*  
           3P    sweet.potato stone    ASS-remove-SR-23P/CSR    get-PFV-DR-23P/DSO=TIME    1s    bird

*quya äutetm...*

*quya ä-utä-ät-m*

bark    ASS-open-SR-1s/CSR

'They removed the cover and get the food from the ground oven, and I open the unwrapped birds and...'

- 407) *Si hiuḡä äqunätnä,*                      *ämaqä ique*              *äwimatqe,...*  
           *si hiuḡä*              *ä-w-q-n-ät-n*                      *ämaqä i-qu-e*              *ä-w-ima-t-qä=i*  
           2s eye              ASS-3-act-DETR-SR-2s/CSR    person    that=M=OJ    ASS-3-meet-2s/IRR-GEN=DEF  
           'Should you see (someone) and come to the man,...'

- 408) ...*iuaqu hiqäqä anä äwisiny*                      *buayä heuyqä*  
           *i-aqu hiqäqä anä ä-wä-ät-iny*                      *buayä heuyqä*  
           that=DL sleep    with ASS-go.down-SR-23D/CSR    food    leaf.plate

*äwiqutäuyätä*

*äyä iḡḡgutqäḡḡaḡi...*

*ä-w-iqutäu-i-ät-ä*

*äyä i-q-aḡḡ-u-tqä=ḡḡa=ḡi*

ASS-3-serve-BEN-SR-3s/CSR    just    do-PFV.DR-3s/IRR=TIME=GVN

'...whenever she and he are sleeping together and she is serving him food,...'

It is to be noted that in (408) the two coordinate medial clauses exhibit a change in actor/subject from dual to singular. The text is about the traditional marriage customs of the people and the preceding sentence states that 'We men, when the woman is afraid, are not ones to put on the marriage symbols quickly.' Even though (408) begins by referring to both the male and female, it is the female that is topical until she has done her part as signalled by the generic DR form, after which the higher level topic, 'we men', come back into focus. Thus, with coordinate SR medials as for dependent SR medials, it is the pragmatic considerations that determine the use of the switch-reference system.

A further significant difference between the coordinate SR construction and the dependent chain construction is that whereas the medial clause in the latter cannot be postposed to come after its matrix, the coordinate SR clause can. In (409) the postposed clause is probably an elaboration of the matrix speech

event whereas in (410) the postposed event is clearly the cause of the matrix event. The reasons for the reordering are unclear. In these two instances the intonation on the final clause would indicate that the sentence is ended, in which case the postposed clause could simply be an afterthought, offered in additional explanation. In (409) the narrator goes on to tell how they answered the question whereas after (410) the speaker declares 'That's the end' as the conclusion of the entire narration<sup>117</sup>.

- 409) ...*iqu yatŋqä qe äneyqe,* *He wäuyi*  
*i-qu yatŋqä qe ä-na-i-q-qäqä=i* *he wäuyä=i*  
 that=M question CERT ASS-1P-do-PFV-3S/DSO=IND 2P work=DEF  
*äkitayueŋgä?"* *änatätä.*  
*äk-i-ta-qu=en-kä* *ä-na-t-ät-ä*  
 which=DEF=ORIG=M=2P=INFOQ ASS-1P-say-SR-3S/CSR  
 '...he asked us saying "What work place are you from?"'
- 410) ...*Mendeŋä pmeqä hŋquŋi,* *hiyqä itŋqe,* *qua*  
*Mendeŋä pma-qä hn-qu=ŋi* *hiyqä i-ätq-äŋ-qäqä=i* *qua*  
 Madang be-DVZR INDEF=M=GVN urine do-PRGV-IPFV-3S/DSO=DEF ground  
*iqi äpäkygäqäqe,* *popo itä.*  
*i-qi ä-päk-n-q-qäqä=i* *popo i-ät-ä*  
 that=LOC ASS-hit-DETR-PFV-3S/DSO=IND dizzy do-SR-3S/CSR  
 '...a Madang man, (when) he had urinated, was dizzy and fell to the ground.'

The interaction of the dependent SR medials with the clitic =*ŋi* was earlier (5.1.1) presented as indicating that the marked unit is to be considered as part of the frame of reference for the subsequent text. By contrast, the coordinate SR clauses (and the medial verb forms that are diagnostic of them) are never marked with this clitic. This is taken as further evidence of the unitary nature of the coordinate medial construction. Since the use of the coordinate medial indicates that the marked clause is of equal status with its matrix clause, it cannot be assigned a place in the discourse until the unit has been completed.

## 5.2.2 SR simultaneous medial construction

Whereas the coordinate SR medials do not inherently specify the nature of the temporal relationship between the marked and matrix predications, the simultaneous SR medials are specific, hence their label. As was stated in 4.2.4.3.3, the construction using these forms are also more restrictive in that i) multiple clauses using them cannot be strung together and ii) either the marked or the matrix clause is usually a

<sup>117</sup> This entire incident was a parenthetical addition after the main story had been concluded.

stative predication. Otherwise, many of the characteristics of the coordinate SR construction also apply here, such as the potential for negation to pass to the coordinate, as (411).

- 411) *Si apäkiki hiuḡinā äqunän mäpmeqä isḡqe.*  
*si apäkä=i=ki hiuḡä=i=nä ä-w-q-n-n ma-pma-qä i-t=ḡqä=i*  
 2S woman=DEF-2S eye=DEF=FCS ASS-3-act-DETR-2S/CSR NEG-be-DVZR do-2S/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'You, woman, are not to just sit looking at them.'

Almost half the recorded instances of this construction combine a perception predication (seeing, listening or remembering) with an existential predication (be, sit, stand), and in most such instances the verbs are adjacent, as in (412). This could give the appearance of being a single clause with a complex verbal phrase rather than a coordination of clauses. Examples such as (413), with an additional participant introduced in the matrix clause, show that the coordination is of clauses rather than of verbs.

- 412) ...*iqu qätä äuḡgänä änyiyä pmetn.*  
*i=qu qätä äuḡgä=nä ä-n-i-i-ä pma-ät-ni*  
 that=M ear good=FCS ASS-1S-do-BEN-3S/CSR be-3S/IRR-FUT  
 '...he sits listening to me well.'

- 413) *Balusḡqä hiuḡä äqunan, biḡsu iḡutä anä*  
*balus=i-ḡqä hiuḡä ä-w-q-n-an biḡsu i=qu=iä anä*  
 plane=DEF=GOAL eye ASS-3-act-DETR-1P/CSR missionary that=M=with with  
*äpmakuque.*  
*ä-pma-k-qäqu=i*  
 ASS-be-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'While we waited for the plane we were with the missionary.'

The other frequent pattern for this construction is for the coordinated clause to be a stative predication and the matrix clause to predicate an event that occurred during the state. In this variant the distinctiveness of the clauses is the rule rather than the norm. Example (414) is a case in point and also demonstrates that, as with the coordinate SR construction, the matrix clause is not necessarily a final clause. In this instance the coordinated complex is a single link in the chain of main-line events.

- 414) *Yäpaqä mḡḡgisa ätqäüä "Eä eenä" natäqanḡqäḡḡga...*  
*yäpaqä m-ḡḡgisa ä-tqäü-ä eä eä=nä na-t-q-anḡ-qäqä=ḡga*  
 outside down=side ASS-stand-3S/CSR come come=QT 1P-say-PFV-DR-3S/DSO=TIME  
 'He stood outside saying "Come, come!" to us and...'

Whereas a multiplicity of simultaneous SR clauses are not found in a coordinated clause complex, the matrix clause can be quite complex. In (415) the first clause states that the actors will sleep in the forest and

the latter two clauses indicate the activities that they will perform during their stay in the forest. The latter two clauses form a coordinate SR complex clause unit which is the matrix for the simultaneous SR clause at the beginning.

- 415) ...*qäuqä yätu hiqaqä wen, asäkuiyä mätätan yŋŋäŋqä*  
*qäuqä yä-tu hiqaqä wä-an asäkuiyä mät-ät-an yŋŋä-ŋqä*  
 forest up-LOC sleep go.down-1P/CSR blind build-SR-1P/CSR bird=GOAL  
*täuqämetuŋqe.*  
*täuqäma-atu-ŋqä=i*  
 watch.for-1P/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 '...we're going to sleep in the forest and build blinds and watch for birds.'

### 5.2.3 Coordinate DR medial construction

The coordinate DR medials are equivalent to the coordinate SR medials in that they indicate that the marked clause has the same status as its matrix clause, even though the topical entity changes. Thus, as was the case with the coordinate SR construction, it is proposed that the coordinated clauses form a single, complex unit whose structural and semantic relationship with the larger context is only indicated on the last verb in the unit. The logical relationship (cause-effect, etc.) between the clauses within the unit is not specified and varies greatly. However, the temporal relationship between them can be indicated by the aspect suffixes, as explained in 4.2.4.1.1 and again illustrated below. This feature of not necessarily providing any indication of the semantic relationship with its matrix clause is one of the reasons for determining that these are coordinate DR clauses. As will be shown, the range of uses of this construction varies considerably in terms of their functional equivalents in other languages. The other major evidence for this analysis is the number of properties that they share with the coordinate SR medials, to the exclusion of the dependent and subordinate forms. The fact that they use the associative actor suffixes rather than the dissociative ones shows that a closer relationship exists between the coordinate DR clause and the one to which it is related, than exists between a subordinate DR and its matrix. The nature of that closer relationship is not the same in the various uses of the two actor suffixes sets (cf. 4.2.2 and 4.2.3.4) and the equal status of the conjuncts is, I believe, the relevant factor in this use<sup>118</sup>.

<sup>118</sup> This is a change from the interpretation presented in Whitehead 1991 where I considered the DR medials with associative actor suffixes to be emphasizing a logical relationship rather than the temporal relationship that is generally in focus for the DR medials with a dissociative actor suffix.

One of the topicality-assignment options for the speaker, given in 5.1.2, is to assign two participants equal status at any level, which results in the more expected use of the switch-reference system – topic coinciding with the clause SUBJECT. It is a common use of the coordinate DR medial construction to inform of the activities of the component members of a larger group who are no longer acting in a unified manner. In (416), which is the full sentence from which (37) was taken, a group of people including the speaker are beginning a tour of a hydro-electric plant. The entire group is the topical entity but in this sentence they are split into two groups: ‘some people...we others’. The first two clauses are links in the chain of mainline events and the highlighted clauses are coordinated to form a third unit in the chain. The use of imperfective aspect makes explicit the fact that the coordinated predications were simultaneous.

- 416) *Änyä äweqe, “Hiuqä qumbiyä” natäqanqäqänga,*  
*änyä ä-wä-äqe huiqä w-q-n-p-yä” na-t-q-ayg-qäqä-nga*  
 new ASS-go.down-1P/DSR eye 3-act-DETR-23P/IRR=QT 1P-say-PFV-DR-3S/DSO=TIME  
*ämaqä hyqua mäni tqäüätangä, ne hyqune hiyqäqä*  
*ämaqä hn-qu-a m=ni tqäü-ät-ayg-ä ne hn-qu-une hiyqä-nga*  
 person INDEF=M=L below=LOC stand-IPFV-DR-23P/ASO 1P INDEF=M=1P urine=GOAL  
*qe äpeyuqe.*  
*qe ä-p-y-q-qäqu-i*  
 CERT ASS-come-go.up-PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 ‘When we were newly gone down and were told “Look!”, some people stood below and we others went up to urinate.’

Similarly, (417) specifies the individual activities of the two topical participants on the one day on which they were separated. In this instance, however, the perfective aspect is used even though the two events were simultaneous. This is in accord with i) the definition of perfective as presenting a situation as a unified whole regardless of any internal temporal complexity, and ii) the statement (4.2.4.1.1) that the perfective forms of the DR medials can be used regardless of the temporal relationship but an imperfective form can only be used when some degree of simultaneity is involved and the speaker wishes to emphasize that fact.

- 417) *Iqu Baipätä statqä iqä ayä iuqä äwqanqi...*  
*i-qu Baipätä statqä i-qä ayä i-u-üqä ä-w-q-ayg-i*  
 that=M Bible start do-DVZR house that=LOC=GOAL ASS-go-PFV-DR-3S/ASO  
*nyi qätaqä pätäyä äukäqe.*  
*nyi qätaqä pätäyä ä-w-k-qäqä-i*  
 1S grass mow ASS-shoot-PA/PFV-1S/DSO=IND  
 ‘He went to the print shop (lit. house for starting Bibles); I cut grass.’

On other occasions, the speaker contrasts the activities of two participants (or groups) without them having been combined into one entity elsewhere in the discourse. Example (418) is the response that the speaker, who is defending himself in a village court session, reports as having happened after he had approached a school teacher and asked him a question. Whereas the coordinated events in (416) and (417) were simultaneous and without any causal relationship, in this example they are sequential and the second is a logical consequence of the first.

- 418) *Ga iquyi sikanäqä änyäqe "Matinäkitanä?" ndäqaygi*  
*ga i-qu-yi sikanäqä ä-n-i-äqe Matinä=ki-ta-nä n-t-q-ayg-i*  
 then that=M-GVN shake ASS-1S-do-3S/DSR Martin=2S-POLQ=QT 1S-say-PFV-DR-3S/ASO

"Aoqä" ätuqä.

ao=qä ä-w-t-q-ä

yes=QT ASS-3-say-PFV-1S/ASO

'Then he shook my hand, and he said to me "Are you Martin?" and I told him "Yes." '119

In (419) the consequential relationship is even stronger, such that a natural English translation would be "Because the car was unable to come up well, he came up slowly".

- 419) *Katä änä mäyapäqaygi<sup>120</sup>, iqu äpakänä iqä*  
*katä änä ma-yap-q-ayg-i i-qu äpakä-nä i-qä*  
 car how NEG-come.up-PFV-DR-3S/ASO that=M slowly=FCS do-DVZR

äyapmiqge.

ä-yap-miq-qäqä=i

ASS-come.up-PA/IPFV-3S/DSO=IND

'The car couldn't come up well and so he came up slowly.'

Another frequent use of the coordinate DR construction is to express the equivalent of a perception predicate and its complement – the 'complement' being the coordinate DR clause. Reesink (to appear) discusses the use in several languages (Usan, Amele, Hua, Koromu) of the coordinate chaining construction to encode an act of perception and the act perceived (in reverse order to maintain iconicity). The only significant difference in Meriya is that the verb forms used for the perceived event, and that I am calling the coordinate medials, are not those used in the chaining construction. His explanation of the rationale – that the perceived event and the act of perception are distinct events and natural candidates for encoding as

<sup>119</sup> There were no pauses or clear intonation breaks in this sentence, hence the lack of punctuation.

<sup>120</sup> The adverbial *änä* regularly combines with a negated verb to indicate inability.



separate links in the chain (my terminology) – is valid for the use of either construction. The most frequent perception predicate is, not unexpectedly, ‘see’ (420), but ‘hear’ (421) also enters into this construction<sup>121</sup>.

- 420) *Basi hyqu pqaygi äqunayi...*  
*basi hn-qu p-q-ayg-i ä-w-q-n-ayi*  
 bus INDEF=M come-PFV-DR-3S/ASO ASS-3-act-DETR-1D/DSR  
 ‘We saw a bus coming ... (Lit: A bus came and we saw it...)’
- 421) *Si nyi ti tqaygä äyä änyiyägnä.*  
*si nyi ti t-q-ayg-ä äyä ä-n-i-i-äq-n*  
 2s 1s thus say-PFV-DR-1S/ASO just ASS-1S-do-BEN-IPFV-2S/ASO  
 ‘You just heard me say this. (Lit: I said this and you just heard me.)’

Example (420) serves to introduce the bus and this presentational function is quite common, regardless of whether the introduced participant plays a role in the ongoing discourse. The bus in (420) does have an ongoing role but the women in (422) do not.

- 422) *Pakäpiyi, apäkä hyqua asyä qänätqätaygä*  
*Pakäpi=ŋi apäkä hn-qu=a asyä q-n-ätq-ät-ayg-ä*  
*Pakäpi=GVN woman INDEF=M-PL wash act-DETR-PRGV-IPFV-DR-23P/ASO*  
*äyä äwimakuee.*  
*äyä ä-w-ima-k-ueä-i*  
 just ASS-3-meet-PA/PFV-1D/DSO=IND  
 ‘At the (River) *Pakäpi*, some women were bathing and we came upon them.’

Conversely, a participant who does have an ongoing role can be introduced in less prominent ways. Example (423) is from the same text as (422), and the person here does have a short active role in the subsequent events.

- 423) *...täukoŋi äweyitaŋi, Nami äwimakuee.*  
*täukoŋä-i ä-wä-ayi-ta-ŋi Nami ä-w-ima-k-ueä-i*  
 riverbed=DEF ASS-go.down-1D/DSR=ORIG=GVN Naomi ASS-3-meet-PA/PFV-1D/DSO=IND  
 ‘...as we went along the riverbed, we come upon Naomi.’

Coordinate DR medial clauses can also be used alone in truncated sentences, whereas the other DR medials have not been observed without a matrix clause. Following (423), the speaker identifies Naomi as the mother of Amos at which point the addressee interrupts with (424a), which could refer to either Naomi or Amos. The narrator responds with (424b). Both the question and the initial response are coordinate DR medial clauses without their matrix which is, presumably, ‘you/we came upon her/him.’

<sup>121</sup> Note that in both these examples the instrumental nouns ‘eye’ and ‘ear’ are omitted from the matrix clauses but the context is sufficiently clear to allow correct interpretation of the intended meaning of the generic verb.

- 424) a) *Iqi pmetaygi?*  
*i=qi pma-ät-ayg-i*  
 that=LOC be-IPFV-DR-3S/ASO  
 'He/she was there?'
- b) *Ii iqi pmetaygi. "Amosi iqu iqi äpmenä"*  
*i=i i=qi pma-ät-ayg-i Amosi i=qu i=qi ä-pma-äy-ä-nä*  
 that=F that=LOC be-IPFV-DR-3S/ASO Amos that=M that=LOC ASS-be-IPFV-3S/ASO/IPFV=QT  
*ta ikuee, iqu iqi mäpmeqä itaygi.*  
*t-a i-k-ueä=i i=qu i=qi ma-pma-qä i-ät-ayg-i*  
 say-1D/CSR do-PA/PFV-1D/DSO=IND that=M that=LOC NEG-be-DVZR do-IPFV-DR-3S/ASO  
 'She was there. We thought "Amos is there" – and he wasn't.'

The second part of the answer in (424b) illustrates one of the features that the coordinate DR medials have in common with the coordinate SR medials – the ability to be postposed after the matrix clause. In five of the seven instances that have been observed, the postposed clause is specifying what was seen and the text goes on to narrate a significant change in action that results from what was seen. The postposing is not, therefore, simply an afterthought addition but a stylistic device to highlight a significant sighting. The other two instances of a postposed coordinate DR clause, one of which is in (424b), are followed by an explanatory statement about earlier actions (therefore out of chronological order) by the actor of the postposed clause. In each case, therefore, the occurrence of a coordinate DR clause after its matrix clause is an indication that a significant break in the natural flow of discourse is taking place.

These DR clauses also have in common with the coordinate SR medial clauses the fact that they can come under the scope of the question mood particle, as in (425). Here, the speaker is asking the addressee to explain his reasons for writing a letter which resulted in the speaker being in court. The construction, with the question words within the medial clause and the WH-question mood clitic on the final verb, is comparable to (400).

- 425) *Änä änä hetaygi äqyāwä tuwayui?*  
*änä änä h-e-ät-ayg-i ä-q-q-ya=wä tuwayuä=i*  
 how how NEU-be-IPFV-DR-3S/ASO ASS-act-PFV-2S/DSO=INFOQ letter=DEF  
 'What was happening that you wrote the letter?'

They can also come under the scope of a negative in the matrix clause as in (426). This example is from an elicitation session in which the Menya sentence was presented to the native speaker, who accepted

it and translated it into Tok Pisin as *Mi harim, yu no tok olsem* (literally, *I heard; you didn't say that*) which clearly transfers the negative to the speech-related clause.

- 426) *Nyi si e tqaygnä qätä makiyqä iqänä.*  
*nyi si e t-q-ayg-n qätä ma-k-i-i-qä i-q-ä=nä*  
 1s 2s that say-PFV-DR-2s/ASO ear NEG-2s-DO-BEN-DVZR do-PFV-1s/ASO-FCS  
 'That's not what I heard you say.'

The final point of comparison with the coordinate SR medial clause is the fact that these DR clauses cannot be marked by the clitic =*yi* to indicate that the marked unit is to be considered as part of the frame reference for the subsequent text. Since it is the function of the coordinate medial is to indicate equal status with its matrix, it cannot itself be assigned a status.

The coordinate DR medials may not completely parallel the SR equivalents, however, since the DR construction may be coordination at a higher level. Example (427) begins with a subordinated SR medial clause indicating that the group had completed their prior activities. This is followed by the statement of the next activities of the two components of the 'we' in the opening clause – the women and the narrator. This constitutes a further instance of the tracking of two topical entities (cf. (416) and (417)), with a coordinate DR medial marking the boundary between them. The complication is that the women's activity consists of the three highlighted clauses, the first two being encoded with coordinate SR forms. Potentially, therefore, these three clauses constitute a coordinate SR construction with the coordinate DR clause as its matrix. This unit is, in turn, the first member of a coordinate DR construction.

- 427) *Eeqäpänä qäpu imäkanitayi, apäktqua hikä tutuwqä ipu*  
*eeqä=pu=nä qäpu imäk-ani-ta=yi apäkä=i-qu=a hikä tutuwqä i-ät-pu*  
 all=DIM-FCS CMPL make-1P/DSR-SRC=GVN woman=DEF=M-PL stone arrange do-SR-23P/CSR  
*ylämisayä pyqä eäpu heuyqä patqäyqaygä nyi wayitä*  
*ylämisayä pyqä e-ät-pu heuyqä pat-q-q-ayg-ä nyi wayä=i-tä*  
 food put put-SR-23P/CSR leaf cover-act-PFV-DR-23P/ASO 1s greens=DEF-&  
*yypitä quya iu eeqa eeqa äpekäqe.*  
*yypä=i-tä quya i-u e-qa e-qa ä-p-y-k-qäqä=i*  
 bird=DEF-& bark that-LOC put-SER/SIM put-SER/SIM ASS-come-go.up-PA/PFV-1s/DSO-IND  
 'After we finished doing all that, the women arranged the stones, placed the food (on them) and covered it with leaves and/while I piled up the greens and birds on the bark pieces.'

Sentences like (428) could further complicate the picture. Again there is contrast between the activities of two entities (some boys versus the narrator) in a coordinate DR construction. In this example, the first

conjunct is a single clause but the second conjunct could either be the highlighted, dependent SR clause or everything after the coordinate medial *witaggä*. This would include two more coordinate SR clauses in the ellipsis. If the first alternative is correct then the coordinate DR construction, ending with the dependent SR medial, is the first unit in a mainline chained construction and the four-clause coordinate SR construction is a second unit. If the latter alternative is correct, then the second conjunct of the coordinate DR construction would itself be a chained construction consisting of two units – the first a single clause and the second the four-clause complex.

- 428) *Qu hiqaqä witaggä, nyi wäunguwä aḡä täḡä qäqä iqinyqä*  
*qu hiqaqä wä-ät-ayg-ä nyi wäunguwä aḡä täḡä qäqä i=qi=ḡqä*  
 3P sleep lie-IPFV-DR-23P/ASO 1s regrowth house near near that=LOC-GOAL  
*äquyeqämi, wäḡä änyuätm... äma äyapkäqe.*  
*ä-quyeqe-mi wäḡä ä-mi-ät-m ä-ma ä-yap-k-qäqä=i*  
 ASS-go.down-1s/DSR greens ASS-harvest-SR-1s/CSR ASS-get ASS-come.up-PA/PFV-1s/DSO-IND  
 'They slept and I went down to the old garden near the house and harvested greens and  
 ...brought them back up.'

### 5.3 Serial verb construction

Verb serialization, as it has been variously described for languages of Africa (e.g. Givón 1975), Asia and Melanesia, generally involves i) a merging of two or more predicates into a single complex unit with all but the last verb reduced morphologically to (little more than) a verb stem and ii) one or more core arguments shared. A close English equivalent may be found in the dialectal variant *Let's go watch a movie* in which *go watch* functions as a single predicate in contrast to the more formal, coordinated *Let's go and watch a movie*.

Universally, predications involving motion are the most likely to be serialized (Foley and Olson 1985:41) and Menya is no exception in this regard. As was stated in 2.4.1, verb serialization in Menya typically involves the juxtaposition of two verbs, one that is stripped of all the suffixation normally associated with verbs and the other an inflected verb of motion. No instances of serial verb forms (that is, without an actor suffix) have been found without motion being involved, and that motion is almost always overtly expressed as the matrix verb; the exceptions will be addressed in 5.3.3. Only a few verbs, however, can occur as the first member of the serial construction without any suffix at all; others require one of several serializing suffixes that additionally indicate the nature of the relationship between the serial verb

and the motion. The serial verb construction in Menya is seen as a specialized variant of the coordinate SR construction, only available when the semantic constraints on the verbs involved are met.

### 5.3.1 Verbs with no suffixation

The only verbs that appear to be able to occur without further affixation are the verbs *ma* 'get/have' (429), *tma*<sup>122</sup> 'get/lead' and *uyäma* 'leave behind/depart from' (430) and these are followed by a motion verb referring to an actual motion. At first glance, the events predicated by the two verbs appear to be distinguishable and arguably sequential – the 'getting' and the 'leaving' preceding the actual motion. The verb *ma*, however, means 'have' in its stative forms and, with that sense, the 'having' and the 'ascending' of (429) are simultaneous events, as are the progressive separation and the journey in (430). As (431) shows, the act of getting and the state of having can be encoded separately but in all likelihood the normal two-verb complex encompasses the whole. Note also in this example that the motion verb does not need to be a final verb form.

- 429) ...*katä änäma äpekäqe,* *plesä balusi yätuṅqä.*  
*katä ä-na-ma ä-p-y-k-qä=i* *plesä balus-i yä-tu-ṅqä*  
 car ASS-1P-get ASS-come-go.up-PA/PFV-3S/DSO-IND place airplane=DEF up=LOC=GOAL  
 '... he took us by car up to the airstrip.'

- 430) ...*iqu änäuyäma äukäqe.*  
*i-qu ä-na-uyäma ä-w-k-qä=i*  
 that=M ASS-1P-depart ASS-go-PA/PFV-3S/DSO-IND  
 '...he went leaving us behind'

- 431) ...*ye äpäweyi,* *qänaki ämeta äma*  
*ye ä-p-wä-ayi qänakä=i ä-ma-ät-a ä-ma*  
 1D ASS-come-go.down-1D/DSR pandanus=DEF ASS-get-SR-1D/CSR ASS-get  
*äpäyayi...*  
*ä-p-y-ayi*  
 ASS-come-go.up-1D/DSR  
 '...we went down, got the pandanus nuts and brought them up, then...'

### 5.3.2 Verbs with suffixation

The other serializing construction also requires a verb of motion in the second position but allows a broader range of verbs as the first. In this construction the serial verb is marked with a serializing suffix

<sup>122</sup> This verb is only used with animate affectees and indicates 'get and lead under their own power'; getting someone and taking them in a car would require the verb *mä*. Most likely *tma* is a compound of *t* 'say' and 'get'.

that does not vary according to person and number of the actor. There are four such serializing suffixes depending on the nature of the relationship between the events predicated and the actual verbs used.

The durative suffix *-ka* indicates that the event predicated by the verb that it marks is repeated or prolonged for some time and, normally, that it is terminated before or by the motion predication. The motion verb can refer to a literal motion (432), or be euphemistic for death (433).

- 432) *He qayī āuṅgä ikäka āquyepätqāṅä, ä*  
*he qayä=i āuṅgä ikä-ka ä-quyep-ätq-ṅ-ä ä*  
 2P walk-DEF good walk-SER/DUR ASS-COME-PRGV-IPFV-23P/ASO OR  
*quyqätano?*  
*quyqä-ta-nä=o*  
 bad=POLQ=FCS=EMPH  
 'Have you had a good trip and now come, or was it a bad one?'

- 433) *Ne e ämänatuquaka äukuwi.*  
*ne e ä-na-mätuqa-ka ä-w-k-uwä-i*  
 1P that ASS-1P-show-SER/DUR ASS-go-PA/ACT-3P-IND  
 'They showed us (how to make grass skirts) and went (=died).'

The simultaneous suffix *-qa* similarly indicates that the event predicated is repeated or prolonged but in this instance the event is normally simultaneous with the motion verb (434), and sometimes the motion verb has the aspectual force of emphasizing the duration (435) rather than encoding a literal motion.

- 434) *...iqua ämapiyi, a äqätqa ikämiṅuwi.*  
*i-qu=a ä-ma-piyi a ä-qät-qa ikä-miṅ-uwä-i*  
 that=M-PL ASS-get-23P/DSR hand ASS-hold-SER/SIM tour-PA/IPFV-23P/DSO-IND  
 '...they used to retrieve them (palm wood clubs) and then go around holding them.'

- 435) *Itayga ymeqä iqua qänaknäṅi iqa äwätqāṅä.*  
*i-ät-aṅ-ṅga ymeqä i-qu=a qänaki-näṅä-i i-qa ä-w-ätq-äṅ-ä*  
 do-IPFV-DR=TIME child that=M-PL follow-very=DEF do-SER/SIM ASS-go-PRGV-IPFV-23P/ASO  
 'And the children are now going on following (those customs).'

The serialized verb can, in this construction, be repeated to further emphasize the duration of the process, as in (436). In this particular instance, the next sentence speaks of the process of fastening the piles that have been created, without any indication of a change in location. The motion indicated in the final verb is that of the progressive heightening of the pile of wrapped birds and edible leaves.

- 436) *Nyi wayitā yḡḡitā quya iu eeqa eeqa*  
*nyi wayā=i-tā yḡḡā=i-tā quya i=u e-qa e-qa*  
 1s greens-DEF-with birds-DEF-with bark.wrap that=LOC put-SER/SIM put-SER/SIM  
*qe āpekāqe.*  
*qe ā-p-γ-k-qā=i*  
 CERT ASS-come-go.up-PA/PFV-1s/DSO=IND  
 'I was wrapping the greens and birds in bark and piling them up.'

There are some examples, however, where the difference between *-ka* and *-qa* is not so clear. Thus, in

(437) *-ka* is used where the events are simultaneous rather than sequential.

- 437) *Iqu tākḡā āqāka āukāqe.*  
*i-qu tākḡā ā-q-ka ā-w-k-qāqā=i*  
 that-M fence ASS-act-SER/DUR ASS-go-PA/PFV-3s/DSO=IND  
 'He moved along fence-building.'

The remaining two serializing suffixes, *-mä* and *-wa*, both seem to indicate that the first event is a single, short-duration action, hence 'semelfactive', followed immediately by a motion event, as in (438) and (439). The difference between the two is unclear.

- 438) *Ne yāhiḡuitāḡi qanyā iuyatuwānmā āquyepque.*  
*ne yāhiḡuitā-ḡi qanyā iuyatuw-n-mā ā-quyep-q-qāqu-i*  
 1P morning-GVN freely awaken-DETR-SER/SEM ASS-come.down-PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'In the morning we just woke up and came down here.'
- 439) *Iqu ganā qe ātimāwa āwāqāqe, yāpaqā māḡgisaḡi.*  
*i-qu ḡga-nā qe ā-timāu-wa ā-w-q-qāqā-i yāpaqā m-ḡgisa-ḡi*  
 that-M TIME-FCS CERT ASS-arrive-SER/SEM ASS-go-PA/PFV-3s/DSO=IND outside down-side-GVN  
 'He was the first (of us) to arrive and go outside (the bus).'

### 5.3.3 The nature of serialization

On the basis of the examples of serialization given so far, one could argue that the serial construction forms a complex verbal phrase within a single clause, rather than being an interclausal construction. As was the case for the simultaneous SR construction (5.2.2), however, the verbs can be separated as in (440) and (441). Thus, although the clauses in this construction have to have a common actor, they do not necessarily share all arguments.

- 440) *Tāḡisaḡi nyi ātma, Wau buḡqā qe āukāqe.*  
*tā-ḡi-ta-ḡi nyi ā-tma Wau m-tu-ḡqā qe ā-w-k-qāqā-i*  
 this-LOC-ORIG-GVN 1s ASS-get Wau down=LOC=GOAL CERT ASS-go-PA/PFV-1s/DSO=IND  
 'From here I got (him) and went down to Wau.'

- 441) ...ämaqä eeqänäne eeqänäŋä äŋguä ikäka hiyqä äŋguä emäüwa  
ämaqä eeqä=nä-ne eeqä-näŋä äŋguä ikä-ka hiyqä äŋguä e-mäü-wa  
man all-FCS-1P all-very good tour-SER/DUR urine good put-CMPL-SER  
*ti päwliqanğäqunğa...*  
*ti p-wä-q-aŋg-qäqu-ŋğa*  
this come-go.down-PFV-DR-1P/DSO=TIME  
‘...when all of us having walked around well and urinated well had come down  
immediately,...’

Quite frequently, as in (442) and (443), a serialized verb form occurs marked by =*ŋi* as being part of the sentence frame or given setting for the remainder of the sentence. In all such instances the following text either predicates a motion event or implies that a change of location takes place, as do the verbs ‘arrive’ and ‘come to’ in these examples.

- 442) Yäkepä bu äpäknämäŋi, ŋqä Äkwanja  
Yäkepä m-tu ä-päk-n-mä-ŋi n=qä Äkwanja  
Yagepa down=LOC ASS-hit-DETR-SER/SEM=GVN 1s=POSS Akwanja  
*ätimäukäqe.*  
*ä-timäü-k-qä-i*  
ASS-arrive-PA/PFV-1s/DSO=IND  
‘After landing at Yagepa, I arrived at my Akwanja.’
- 443) Iqu hiuŋä äqunğayŋi, äkimaki?  
i-qu hiuŋä ä-w-q-n-ka-ŋi ä-k-ima-k-i  
that=M eye ASS-3-act-DETR-SER/DUR=GVN ASS-2s-come.to-PA/PFV-3s/ASO  
‘Having looked at (that building), did he come back to you?’

By contrast, there are no recorded instances of a fully overt, serial-verb-plus-motion-verb construction marked by =*ŋi*. The debatable point, then, is whether the following verb that implies motion is the ‘required’ motion verb or whether the actual motion verb is elided in the context of =*ŋi*, since the fact of the motion is readily understood from the context. On the basis of examples such as (444) where the following verb does not in and of itself imply motion but a change of location has nevertheless taken place, I incline toward the option of an deleted motion verb.



- 444) *Yätapqayga ye ämamäyi, yeqä ayä bu pyqä*  
*ya-tap-q-ayg=yga ye ä-ma-mä-yi ye=qä ayä m=tu pyqä*  
 1D-give-PFV-DR=TIME 1D ASS-get-SER/SEM=GVN 1D=POSS house down=LOC put  
*eäta, hiqaqä qe äwäkuue.*  
*e-ät-a hiqaqä qe ä-wä-k-ueä=i*  
 be-SR-1D/CSR sleep CERT ASS-go.down-PA/PFV-1D/DSO=IND  
 'When he gave us (the equipment), having received (it), we put (it) in our house and slept.'

Like all other non-finite verb forms, the serial form is dependent on a final form for the specification of tense but when these forms are serialized to a sentence final verb they are also under the scope of the mood or illocutionary force marked on that verb as in (445) and (446). The first is a request to a pilot to deliver the addressee to an airstrip along his intended route so the focus of the request is on the leaving rather than on the going on to the ultimate destination. The second is a question in which both the actions are in focus.

- 445) *Nyi Hanjuwä äyquatmä huisyqeqä.*  
*nyi Hanjuwä ä-n-quat-mä h-y-t-yqä=i=qä*  
 1s Hanjuwa ASS-1s-deliver-SER/SEM NEU-q0.up-2s/IRR=GOAL=IND=FCS  
 'Leave me off at Hanjuwa and go on.'
- 446) *Aimosi iqueqä apäki, si säyqä quwä ätma unyä?*  
*Aimosi i-qu=e-qä apäkä=i si sä-yqä quwä ä-tma w-q-n-yä*  
 Amos that=M-OI=POSS woman=DEF 2s what=GOAL steal ASS-get go-PFV-2s/ASO=FCS  
 'Regarding Amos' wife, why did you steal her and take her away?'

Negation is unusual in that it is specified on both verbs as in (447) and (448) even though the serial verb might be expected to be within the scope of the polarity marked on the matrix verb. Note that in (448) the plane explicitly 'got' the passenger and they did depart but, due to bad weather, not deliver him to his desired destination. In effect then, as in (431), the act of 'getting' and the state of 'having' are being separated even though the normal expression conflates them.

- 447) *Iqupqä mäma mapqä iqe.*  
*i-qu=pqä ma-ma ma-p-qä i-q-qäqä=i*  
 that=M=also NEG-get NEG-come-DVZR do-PFV-1s/DSO=IND  
 'That one also I haven't brought.'
- 448) *...ämamäyi, Hanjuwäyqä mäma maiyqä da*  
*ä-ma-mä-yi Hanjuwä=yqä ma-ma ma-y-qä da*  
 ASS-get-SER/SEM=GVN Hanjuwa=GOAL NEG-get NEG-go.up-DVZR indeed  
*ikäqäqe.*  
*i-k-qäqä=i*  
 do-PA/PFV-3s/DSO=IND  
 '...having got (him), it (the plane) didn't take him up to Hanjuwa.'

In summary, the serial form of the verb (uninflected for person and number of the actor) requires the involvement of a motion. In the basic or prototypical usage, that motion is literal and explicit, and the two verbs share all arguments, giving the appearance of being a complex predicate in a single clause. However, the motion verb can be used aspectually to indicate the passing of time (as in the English expression 'go on doing') or euphemistically for death, and the motion verb can take additional arguments, indicating that serialization is clausal union rather than complex predicate formation. In situations when the motion is not in focus, that verb can be omitted, leaving the serial form of the verb without an overt motion verb though the fact of the motion will still be recoverable from the context. Where a more individuated focus on the events involved is desired, an inflected form of the verb can be used rather than the serial form.

## 5.4 Clausal subordination

In his overview of subordination in Papuan languages, Foley discusses the use of subordinate clauses as i) tail-head linkage<sup>123</sup> to join sentences, ii) adverbial modification to "provide a temporal setting or a background condition or cause for the asserted new information in the main clause" (1986:201) and iii) relative clauses to "provide crucial information for the identification of the referents of their head nouns" (1986:201). Menya does not assign these functions with just one of the five categories of verb-form type.

This section will present the different verb forms (and hence the clauses encoded with them) and their intersection with the different subordinate or background uses. It should be pointed out here that background information is not always subordinated; it is often provided in separate sentences or even paragraphs.

### 5.4.1 Medial clause subordination

As I have defined them, subordinate medial verbs are those which bear a case marker indicating their clause's role and relationship in their context and generally provide background or secondary information rather than developing the theme. It was pointed out in 5.1.2 that the realis DR medials used in mainline chains are actually those that I am calling subordinate DR medials bearing the temporal clitic, =*nga*. I also pointed out that the distinction between the mainline chain uses and the subordinate uses was perhaps artificial and inappropriate.

<sup>123</sup> De Vries (to appear) describes tail-head linkage, in Papuan languages generally, as being much broader in form and function than Foley's characterization of it.

In examples like (449) the highlighted clause is clearly not the next event on the mainline but is provided as the temporal setting for the matrix predication of 'leaving'<sup>124</sup>. In the first part of (450) the highlighted clause is new information, the rain not having been mentioned before, but it is presented only as background information and is contained within its matrix clause. This containment is evidenced by i) the fact that *balusi piyā qiyqayga ätimäukäqe* constitutes a single phonological phrase, and ii) its inclusion in the repetition at the start of the next sentence, given that tail-head linkage consists of the (often reduced) repetition of only the last chain unit of the previous sentence. For these reasons, these clauses are taken as examples of temporal adverbial clauses modifying their matrix rather than as separate units in the mainline chaining structure.

- 449) *Ayā imäkäqe, apäkā iuaqu ayā imäkätqätayga maqqqä*  
*ayā imäk-äqe apäkā i-aqu ayā imäk-ätq-ät-ayg=nga ma-q-n-qä*  
 house make-3s/DSR woman that-DL house make-PRGV-IPFV-DR=TIME NEG-act-DETR-DVZR  
*äuyämakiyi.*  
*ä-uyäm-k-iyä-i*  
 ASS-leave-PA/PFV-23D/DSO=IND

'He built a house and the two women, while he was house-building, left unseen.'

- 450) ...*balusi piyā qiyqayga ätimäukäqe. Piyā qiyqayga*  
*balusi piyā q-q-ayg=nga ä-timäu-k-qäqä-i piyā q-q-a-nga*  
 plane rain act-PFV-DR=TIME ASS-arrive-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND rain act-PFV-DR=TIME  
*ätimäuäqe,...*  
*ä-timäu-äqe*  
 ASS-arrive-3S/DSR

'...the plane arrived while it has raining. It arrived while it was raining and...'

Given that there are distinct dependent forms of irrealis DR and both realis and irrealis SR medials, all without a case marker, the contrast between chained and subordinated uses are more readily determinable. Though rare, the time clitic =*nga* can be affixed to some SR medial forms to indicate that the marked clause is predicating the temporal setting for the matrix clause. Examples (451) and (452) provide an interesting contrast in that they both come from the same written text (the second occurring five sentences before the first) yet the highlighted predication of still being alive is given as a temporal adverbial clause in

<sup>124</sup> It will be noted here that the first clause has a SR form even though the two women are immediately reintroduced and become topical for the remainder of this sentence and all of the next. The exact structure of this sentence is difficult to determine because in the recorded version the speaker repeated *apäkā iuaqu* after the DR medial verb and, in the editing process, it was that second NP that the Menya assistant chose to omit. Given the tendency to left dislocate the topic the DR medial clause is not as clearly embedded as that in (450) is.

the first but as a coordinated medial clause in the second. There is no apparent semantic difference in the propositions being communicated or their relationship to each other but the same speaker has chosen to package them differently, giving greater prominence to the importance of his ongoing but limited existence in (452) by placing it on a par with the speech act.

- 451) *Nyi häṅä ti yäqänä äpmamäṅga etätṅqe,...* *qätä*  
*nyi häṅä ti yäqä-nä ä-pma-mi-ṅga e-t-ätq-äṅ-qäqä-i* *qätä*  
 1s new thus still-FCS ASS-be-1s/DSR=TIME 2P-say-PRGV-IPFV-1s/DSO=DEF ear

*äyä nyiyätqäṅä,...*

*äyä n-i-i-ätq-äṅ-ä*

just 1s-do-BEN-PRGV-IPFV-23P/ASO

'You've just listened to what I've been telling you while still alive and...'

- 452) *Ne täṅga häṅä yäqänä äpmen etätṅqe,*  
*ne tä-ṅga häṅä yäqä-nä ä-pma-an e-t-ätq-äṅ-qäqu-i*  
 1P this=TIME new still-FCS ASS-be-1P/CSR 2P-tell-PRGV-IPFV-1P/DSO=DEF

*qäuyṅä mamäsäupu pmetṅqe.*

*qäuyṅä ma-mäsäu-pu pma-ät-p-ṅqä-i*

memory get-fasten-23P/CSR be-IPFV-23P/IRR=GOAL=IND

'What we being still alive have been telling you today, live with it fastened in your memory (lit. fasten it in your memory and live).'

In (453) the highlighted verb is an instance of the fourth set of SR medials (4.2.4.3.4) cliticized by *=ṅga*, creating a temporal adverbial clause. By using this form rather than a chaining dependent medial, the speaker may be assigning a greater degree of certainty to the prospect of the addressee coming to the point of great need.

- 453) *Si nätmätqä näṅqä mayqä isuaṅqä äwa itṅäṅṅaṅi,*  
*si nätmätqä n-ṅqä ma-ṅqä i-pu-a-u-ṅqä äwa i-ät-ṅi-ṅga-ṅi*  
 2s thing eat=GOAL get=GOAL that=DIM=PL-OJ=GOAL lack do-SR-2s/DSR=TIME=GVN

*'Ämaṅiqä di quwä ämamä' kṅṅuä kiyäniqe.*

*ämaqä-i=qä n-ti quwä ä-ma-m-ä kṅṅuä k-i-ä-ni-qäqä-i*

man=OJ=POSS level=there steal ASS-get-1s/IRR=QT thought 2s-do-3s/IRR-FUT-3s/DSO=IND

'When you are short of things for getting for eating, you will think, "I should steal another's things."'

In all recorded instances of *=ṅga* with an SR medial, the temporal relationship between the marked clause and its matrix appears to be one of simultaneity. There seems to be no logical reason for this restriction given that the same clitic occurs with DR medials in both simultaneous and sequential temporal relationships.

More common as a subordinating clitic with SR medials is *=ta* which was introduced in 3.4.4 as the marker of an entity from which the situation is in some way derived – the source of a motion or an idea, or the reason for an action. In contrast to *=nga*, it specifies the relationship as one of temporal sequence, as in (454) and (455). It is always followed by the ‘given’ clitic, *=ni*. The stative verb in (455) may look as though it could be translated as simultaneous ‘while’ but the author translated it into Tok Pisin as *mipela kamap na stap liklik pastaim* which is literally ‘we arrived there and stayed a little first’, making it clear that, even though the subsequent actions took place while they were still in the same location, this clause refers only to the time of inactivity before they prepared their meal. The first verb is a coordinate SR form illustrating that a coordinated clause complex can be in a subordinate relationship with its matrix.

- 454) ...*ne e imäkanitaŋi, hiaqäqä äwäkuque.*  
*ne e imäk-ani-ta-ni hiaqäqä ä-wä-k-qäqu-i*  
 1P thus make-1P/DSR-ORIG-GVN sleep ASS-go.down-PA/PFV-1P/DSO-IND  
 ‘...after we made (ready) in that way, we slept.’

- 455) *Iqi ätimäuan äpmenitaŋi, yŋŋä... aquyä äqiyätan...*  
*i-qi ä-timä-u-an ä-pma-ani-ta-ni yŋŋä aquyä ä-q-ät-an*  
 that-LOC ASS-arrive-1P/CSR ASS-be-1P/DSR-ORIG-GVN bird gather ASS-act-SR-1P/CSR  
 ‘After we arrived there and were there for a while, we pooled the birds (we’d shot) and...’

Parallel to its uses on noun phrases, the goal clitic *=ŋqä* can be added to a medial clause to subordinate it as cause or referent, yielding an event or situation to which the matrix event is directed. Example (456) is another instance of the fourth SR set and (457) of a realis DR medial.

- 456) *Nyi ymeqä iqueŋi, täqi hiuŋä maquŋqä itmiŋqä*  
*nyi ymeqä i-qu-e-ni tä-qi hiuŋä ma-w-q-n-qä i-ät-mi-ŋqä*  
 1s child that=M-OJ-GVN this-LOC eye NEG-3-act-DETR-DVZR do-SR-1s/CSR=GOAL  
*iŋqä ätqä.*  
*i-ŋqä ä-t-q-ä*  
 that=GOAL ASS-say-PFV-1s/ASO  
 ‘I’m talking about (the fact that) I haven’t seen the boy here.’

- 457) *Iqu, nyi e ndäqanŋäqenŋä, yatŋqä iŋqä*  
*i-qu nyi e n-t-q-anŋ-qäqä=i-ŋqä yatŋqä i-ŋqä*  
 that=M 1s thus 1s-say-PFV-DR-3s/DSO=DEF=GOAL question that=GOAL  
*äkiyqä.*  
*ä-k-i-q-ä*  
 ASS-2s-do-PFV-1s/ASO  
 ‘I’m asking you about what he said to me.’

In rare instances, the subordinated medial clause is used to identify a person or a place, similar to the relative clause uses of final verbs (to be described in 5.4.2.1). In (458) the subordinator is not actually cliticized to the verb form because the elevational demonstrative root *y* 'up' does not cliticize; the locative clitic attaches to the demonstrative as the last morpheme in the clausal unit, as it does when relating an NP to its context. In the opening clauses of (459) and (460), with DR and SR medials respectively, the referents are people. In (459) the NP containing the medial clause is indefinite but there is no demonstrative for the clitics to attach to and there are differences of opinion as to whether the clitic cluster is part of the verb form or separate. In (460), by contrast, the NP containing the medial clause is appositional to the initial indefinite NP, and since it provides definition for the referent there is a demonstrative. In the case of this last example, the medial verb could be replaced (without changing the meaning according to the speaker) with the near past progressive/habitual final form, *āmetqānyuwā* (4.2.2.4), yielding the more normal form for relative clauses<sup>125</sup>.

- 458) *Nyi āmetqātangāqā yām, iqu ānyimeqā sāpi, nyi*  
*nyi ā-ma-ātq-āt-ayg-qāqā y=m i=qu ā-n-ima-qā sāpi nyi*  
 1s ASS-get-PRGV-IPFV-DR-3S/DSO up=unseen that=M ASS-1s-meet-DVZR CTF 1s  
*moni uyqāminji.*  
*moni w-i-q-m-ni=nji*  
 money 3-do-PFV-1s/IRR-FUT=IND  
 'If he had come upon me where I was getting (=stealing), I would have given him money.'

- 459) *Apqā āmaqā qua iqi pāknyangāqā=quenyqā*  
*apqā āmaqā qua i-qi pāk-n-q-ayg-qāqā=qu=e-ŋqā*  
 song person ground that-LOC hit-DETR-PFV-DR-3S/DSO=M-OI=GOAL  
*qayuwqā a āqātāpu āpmeŋuwi.*  
*qayuwqā a ā-qāt-āt-pu ā-pma-āy-uwā=i*  
 nettle hand ASS-hold-SR-23P/CSR ASS-sit-RPA/PFV-23P/DSO=IND  
 'They were sitting holding nettles for (any) singer who fell down.'

<sup>125</sup> It could not, however, be replaced with the dependent SR form *āmaplyā*. This suggests the possibility that the *-āt* suffix that distinguishes the fourth SR paradigm from the dependent SR paradigm might be the imperfective morpheme rather than the morpheme found in the coordinate SR paradigm. Conceivably they could both be derivatives from the imperfective but this would be the only place where the imperfective *-āt* occurs without the progressive morpheme *-ātq* yet has a dynamic sense.

- 460) *Ämaqä hyqua, quwä ämepiyä iqua, moni naqänäyä*  
*ämaqä hn-qu=a quwä ä-ma-ät-piyi i-qu=a moni naqä-näyä*  
 person INDEF=M=PL steal ASS-get-SR-23P/DSO that=M=PL money big-very  
*uyätqätaygä äqunätqge.*  
*w-i-ätq-ät-ayg-ä ä-w-q-n-ätq-äy-qäqä=i*  
 3-do-PRGV-IPFV-DR-23P/ASO ASS-3-act-DETR-PRGV-IPFV-1S/DSO=IND  
 'Some men, those who steal, I've seen given large payments (as fines).'

### 5.4.2 Dependent final clauses

The terms 'final' and 'medial' as applied to both verbs and clauses derive from their primary distribution feature of being the last versus other-than-the-last verb or clause in the sentence. A few instances have been presented, however, in which 'medial' verbs occur at the end of a sentence. There are far more contexts in which a clause encoded with a 'final' verb occurs other than as the last clause in the sentence. In some of these contexts, the 'final' verb is fully inflected, including for mood or illocutionary force; these will be presented in 5.5.2. In the other contexts, the 'final' verb is not inflected for mood and the clause is subordinated to or embedded in another clause; these will be presented in this section. It would be legitimate to argue that it is inappropriate to use the term 'final' when the verb is not inflected for mood and therefore not fully finite. The alternatives would then be to extend the term 'medial' to include everything that is not fully finite or to use a third, distinctive term<sup>126</sup>. I have chosen to restrict the term 'medial' to those verb forms that are involved in the switch-reference system. The rationale for extending the term final to include those verb forms that are fully inflected apart from mood is that mood in Menya is not a verbal affix but a sentential or predicate clitic; thus in sentences without a verb, the mood clitic will attach to whatever word constitutes the head of the clause whereas the morphemes indicating tense are affixes occurring only on verbs.

When final clauses are embedded within a matrix clause, they generally bear the same definiteness, personalizing clitics and case markings that equivalent nominals do, indicating that these are in effect nominalized clauses. The referent of the clause may be one of the arguments (person or thing) within the proposition or the proposition itself yielding the equivalent of relative clauses and complement clauses respectively.

<sup>126</sup> Farr (1999:220) also uses the phrase 'dependent final'.

### 5.4.2.1 Relative and complement clauses

Menya relative clauses are headless or internally headed though in many instances a noun referring to the 'head' is the first word in the clause, either as its natural position or due to the tendency to omit nominals that are otherwise identifiable from the larger context. In (461) the referent is the people who had been passed earlier in the narrative, referenced initially here by the nominal *āmaqä*, and further identified by the near-past perfective form of the verb which is followed by the demonstrative pronoun that is typical of any NP referring to a human participant (3.3.3).

- 461) *Āmaqä āmänäqätäuwä iqua, yäŋi hitaŋguwäŋga*  
*āmaqä ä-na-mäqätä-u-q-uwä i-qu=a yä=ŋi h-e-ät-aŋg-uwä=ŋga*  
 person ASS-1P-pass-PFV-23P/DSO that=M=PL up=LOC NEU-be-IPFV-DR-23P/DSO=TIME  
*qe äwimeque.*  
*qe ä-w-ima-q-qäqu=i*  
 CERT ASS-3-meet—PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 'The men who had passed us were up there and we met them.'

The structure here appears to be a perfect fit with the formula for noun phrases given in 3.3, with the verb form filling the position of qualifier:

(possessor) (head) (qualifier) (quantifier) (determiner) (personal clitic) (role clitic)

In (462), however, this is not the case since the noun referring to the head, *aŋä*, is in the default position for objects – between the subject and the verb. This is an elicited example judged as good but improvable by fronting of the 'head' noun yielding (463)<sup>127</sup>. Fronting of a non-actor topic is the prime source for OSV ordering, which is listed as a rare alternative to SOV in Table 4 (2.3.1), and explains the preference for (463).

- 462) *Bill iqu aŋä ämätkäqä iqu huäqi tä äŋgäqe.*  
*Bili i-qu aŋä ä-mät-k-qäqä i-qu huäqi tä ä-n-q-qäqä=i*  
 Bill that=M house ASS-build-PA/PFV-3S/DSO that=M yesterday fire ASS-eat-PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'The house that Bill built burned yesterday.'
- 463) *Aŋä Bill iqu ämätkäqä iqu huäqi tä äŋgäqe.*  
*aŋä Bili i-qu ä-mät-k-qäqä i-qu huäqi tä ä-n-q-qäqä=i*  
 house Bill that=M ASS-build-PA/PFV-3S/DSO that=M yesterday fire ASS-eat-PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'The house that Bill built burned yesterday.'

<sup>127</sup> Note that in both of these examples the second *iqu* refers to the house rather than the man. This is in accord with the statement in 3.3.3.3 to the effect that the masculine gender is the default and can be applied to any referent deemed by the speaker to be important in the context.



The more common patterns found in text are those where the 'head' noun is either i) clause initial because it is the subject (461) or as a result of ellipsis of the subject (464), or ii) is itself omitted (465). As (464) shows, when no additional clitics are required, the demonstrative cliticizes to the verb form just as it does to whatever is last in the phrase elsewhere. As with any other NP referring to a speech act participant, the appropriate personalizing clitics (3.3.3.3) are attached to the end of the phrase, as in (466).

- 464) *Iqi ätimäuan äpmenitayi, yŋŋä äpätäukuque*  
*i=qi ä-timäu-an ä-pma-ani=ta=ŋi yŋŋä ä-pätäu-k-qäqu=i*  
 that-LOC ASS-arrive-1P/CSR ASS-be-1P/DSR=ORIG=GVN bird ASS-shoot-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=DEF

*aquyä äqiyätan...*

*aquyä ä-q-ät-an*

gather ASS-act-SR-1P/CSR

'After we arrived there and were there for a while, we pooled the birds we'd shot and...'

- 465) *Itayi, päwä imäkätqäŋuwä hŋqu qe änätma*  
*i=ta=ŋi päwä imäk-ätq-äŋ-uwä hn-qu qe ä-na-tma*  
 that-SRC=GVN power make-PRGV-IPFV-23P/DSO INDEF=M CERT ASS-1P-get

*äpeyqe.*

*ä-p-y-q-qäqä-i*

ASS-come-go.up-3S/DSO=IND

'After that, one of the power makers (electricity plant workers) led us up.'

- 466) *Haqä yätu ämänäquatäqäqune, qe äpeyque.*  
*haqä yä-tu ä-na-mäquat-q-qäqä-qu=ne qe ä-p-y-q-qäqu=i*  
 above up-LOC ASS-2P-bring-PFV-3S/DSO=M=1P CERT ASS-come-go.up-PFV-1P/DSO=IND

'Those of us who were brought up above, went up.'

In a few instances there appear to be both a normal NP plus an appositional, nominalized clause referring to the same entity, as in (467)<sup>128</sup>. In each case, however, there is an alternative analysis that would avoid postulating this variation. In this instance the initial NP could still be within the nominalized clause but fronted as its topical entity.

- 467) *Nyaqä kukŋuä eeqäpnäŋi ŋqä ymeqä hitmqä iquki si*  
*n=yaqä kukŋuä eeqä=pu=nä=ŋi n=qä ymeqä hitmqä i-qu=ki si*  
 1S=POSS talk all=DIM-FCS=GVN 1S=POSS child firstborn that=M=2S 2S

*äktätŋqe...*

*e tuqätn.*

*ä-k-t-ätq-äŋ-qäqä-i*

*e w-t-q-t-n*

ASS-2S-say-PRGV-IPFV-1S/DSO=DEF thus 3-say-PFV-2S/IRR-FUT

'All my talk, what I've been saying to you my firstborn son, tell to (your younger siblings).'

<sup>128</sup> Foley (1986:204-5) documents this variation for Yimas, another Papuan language, where the two NPs need not even be adjacent.

In the examples thus far, the referent has been either the subject/actor or the object/patient of the clause. Nominalized clauses can also have, as their referent, recipient-objects (468), raised-benefactive-objects (469), and oblique arguments such as locatives (470) and goals (471).

- 468) *Ymeqä nyi hiuyeqä äuyqäqä iqu yä äwäqäqe.*  
*ymeqä nyi hiuyeqä ä-w-i-q-qäqä i-qu yä ä-w-q-qäqä=i*  
 child 1s dog ASS-3-do-PFV-1S/DSO that=M fear ASS-go-PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'The child I gave the dog to ran away.'

- 469) *Ämaqä Bill iqu ayä äumäsikäqä iqu, huäqi*  
*ämaqä Bili i-qu ayä ä-w-mät-i-k-qäqä i-qu huäqi*  
 person Bill that=M house ASS-3-build-BEN-PA/PFV-3S/DSO that=M yesterday  
*äpäkongäqe.*  
*ä-päkon-q-qäqä=i*  
 ASS-die-PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'The man Bill built the house for died yesterday.'

- 470) *...äpeyaqe ayä hiaqäqä äuwämiñquä iqi*  
*ä-p-y-aqe ayä hiaqäqä ä-wä-miñ-qäqu i-qi*  
 ASS-come-go.up-1P/DSR place sleep ASS-lie-PA/IPFV-1P/DSO that=LOC  
*ätimäukuqe.*  
*ä-timäu-k-qäqu=i*  
 ASS-arrive-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 '...we went up and arrived at the place where we were sleeping.'

- 471) *Nyi nätmatqä qäuyqä itqäqä iqu, yqä kiñqä*  
*nyi nätmatqä qäuyqä i-ätq-äñ-qäqä i-qu n-qä ki-ñqä*  
 1s thing search do-PRGV-IPFV-1S/DSO that=M 1s=POSS key=GOAL  
*itqäñqä.*  
*i-ätq-äñ-ä*  
 do-PRGV-IPFV-1S/ASO  
 'The thing I've been looking for, I'm looking for my key.'

It should be noted in (470) and (471) that the nouns referring to the referential entities, *ayä* 'place' and *nätmatqä* 'thing', have lost the case-marking that they require when they are not the head of the nominalized clause. This provides further evidence that the argument to which the nominalized clause refers has to have been 'promoted' to topic of its clause but, as (471) shows, it does not also have to be fronted. This contrasts with the nominalized clause in (472) where the NP headed by *sukutqä* is case-marked and the clause is only marked as definite. The clause could be taken as identifying the school as the one at which Reuben placed the boy, but these structural differences are taken to indicate that the referent

of the clause is the event itself, providing an explanation for how the child came to be in school. Rather than being an argument of the following clause, this instance it is seemingly a parenthetical insertion in the middle of a coordinate SR structure. This usage of nominalized clauses providing background information is a variation of the frame function that will be presented in 5.4.2.3.

- 472) *Iqu sukutqä itä, Rupenä iqu sukutqä iu*  
*i-qu sukutqä i-ät-ä Rupenä i-qu sukutqä i-u*  
 that=M school do-SR-3S/CSR Reuben that=M school that=LOC  
*äwquatmäukäqe, sukutqeu äpme.*  
*ä-w-quat-mäü-k-qäqä=i sukutqä=i-u ä-pma-äq-ä*  
 ASS-3-deliver-go-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=DEF school=DEF=LOC ASS-be-IPFV-3S/ASO  
 'He is studying and, Reuben having taken him to school, he's in school.'

The referent of a nominalized clause can be the event itself rather than one of the nominals within it (as mentioned at the end of the introduction to 5.4.2) and this is proposed as the correct interpretation for (472). Example (473) is the opening sentence of a text, identifying what its topic will be. It is indeterminate whether the pronoun *nyi* is within the nominalized clause or not, given that it is the subject of both the matrix and the embedded clauses. The topic of conversation, marked by the goal clitic =*qqä*, is the fact of the actor group going to Aiyura and all that happened there. This pattern of speech verb plus nominalized clause marked by the goal clitic =*qqä*, is the closest Menya comes to indirect speech.

- 473) *Nyi Ayutaqqä äukäqueqqä kukquä tmqe.*  
*nyi Ayuta=qqä ä-w-k-qäqu=i=qqä kukquä t-m=qqä=i*  
 1S Aiyura-GOAL ASS-go-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=DEF=GOAL talk say-1S/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'I am going to talk about (the fact that) we went to Aiyura.'

Frequently when the event itself is the referent of the nominalized clause, it will be marked with the demonstrative *dä* rather than the neutral *i* 'that' or its cliticized variant, =*i* 'DEF'. Being a more marked demonstrative, it appears to be more forceful or emphatic, and is used far more extensively in argumentative and didactic discourse than in narrative. Example (474) is spoken by a village official at a meeting discussing an accusation of theft.

- 474) *E ätätqäḡu* *dī,* *he qätä nawipḡqe*<sup>129</sup>.  
*e ä-t-ätq-äḡ-u* *n=ti,* *he qätä na-w-i-i-p=ḡqä=i*  
 thus ASS-say-PRGV-IPFV-1P/ASO level=there 2P ear 1P-3-do-BEN-23P/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'What we are thus saying to you, you should listen to us.'

### Tense sequencing

Since these clauses are embedded as arguments within their matrix clause, they are not directly dependent on the sentence-final clause for their tense specification. Rather, they are marked for tense themselves to indicate the time of their occurrence relative to the time of their matrix clause. The above examples have all been past or near past forms indicating that the events or situations they encode occurred prior to the events within which they are encoded. However, if the sentence final verb is in the past, rather than the near past or present, then a past form must be used in the nominalized clause even if the two events are within the two to three days that would normally determine use of the near past. Thus, in (475) the in-the-ground cooking that was observed was made earlier that day but a past tense form is used because of the past tense of the sentence-final clause. Similarly, the birds referred to in (464) were shot earlier the same day but a past tense verb is used in the nominalized clause.

- 475) *Iquaqu äpäwiyi,* *ii buayä hikä ikikäqäqe*  
*I-qu-aqu ä-p-wä-iyi* *i=i buayä hikä ik-k-qäqä=i*  
 that=M=DL ASS-come-go.down-23D/DSR that=F food stone cook-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=DEF  
*hiuḡä äqunämiḡiyi.*  
*hiuḡä ä-w-q-n-miḡ-iyä-i*  
 eye ASS-3-act-DETR-PA/IPFV-23D/DSO=IND  
 'They two went down and looked at the *mumu*<sup>130</sup> she had made.'

If the sentence-final verb is not in the past tense, however, then either a near past or a past tense verb can be used in the nominalized clause, depending on the actual time difference between the events. Thus, if the nominalized event preceded the matrix event by more than two or three days, a past tense form in the nominalized clause is appropriate, as in the elicited examples (462) and (469) above. And if the nominalized event is within two or three days prior to the matrix event, a near past form is appropriate, as in (461).

<sup>129</sup> This clause and its conjunctive recapitulation in the next clause are the only instances encountered where what appears to be two object prefixes are allowed – one agreeing with the speakers who are to be listened to and the other agreeing with the speech itself.

<sup>130</sup> A *mumu* is a cooking technique whereby stones are heated in a hollow in the ground then the food is placed on the hot stones and covered with large leaves and dirt creating a pressure cooker.

The verb in nominalized clauses can be an irrealis form to indicate an event that is future relative to the matrix event. In (476) the descent referred to in the nominalized clause is subsequent to the delivery in the matrix clause but prior to the speech act time so the irrealis intensive form is indicating the relative timing of the encoded events.

- 476) *Ne qua yäpā māyisa wetuḡquä duḡqä qe*  
*ne qua yäpā mā-yisa wä-atu-yqä n-tu-yqä qe*  
 1P ground inside down-region go.down-1P/IRR=GOAL level=LOC=GOAL CERT  
*ämänäquatäqe.*  
*ä-na-mäquat-q-qäqä=i*  
 ASS-1P-bring-PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'He brought us to where we were going to go down inside the ground.'

When the nominalized situation and the matrix situation are at the same time (relative present) a variety of strategies is used. As mentioned in 4.2.2, affixation and cliticization following the associative suffixes is limited to the end-of-quote clitic. Accordingly, present tense verb forms are rarely used in nominalized clauses since they use the associative person/number affixes. One of the few apparent examples is (477) where the present perfective verb is followed by a variant of the demonstrative 'that'. Example (474) was a similar instance but with the nominalized clause being the object of the matrix clause.

- 477) *Hmämä aḡä qua guwä naqä mämqä ätqä*  
*hn=m=m aḡä qua guwä naqä m=m-yqä ä-t-q-ä*  
 INDEF=down-unseen true ground meat big down-unseen=GOAL ASS-say-PFV-1S/ASO  
*e, quamä qäqä manji.*  
*e, quamä qäqä ma-nji*  
 that seated near NEG=IND  
 'What I say about far down in the real meat of the ground, it isn't close.'

When the nominalized clause encodes a state or event that is temporarily in effect at the time of the matrix event, a subordinate medial form is used, (cf. the end of 5.4.1). Example (458) is repeated here as (478) illustrating an event in progress, and (479) shows a temporary state<sup>131</sup>.

<sup>131</sup> The verbal noun *ḡḡqä* 'put' is normally used with the verb *e* 'be/put' in its transitive sense. Its use here with the verb *wä* ~ *wi* 'go down/lie' in its stative sense is unusual and creates the equivalent of a passive.

- 478) *Nyi ämetqätangäqä yäm, iqu nyimeqä säpi, nyi*  
*nyi ä-ma-ätq-ät-ang-qäqä y=m i=qu ä-n-ima-qä säpi nyi*  
 1s ASS-get-PRGV-IPFV-DR-3S/DSO up-unseen that-M ASS-1s-meet-DVZR CTF 1s

*moni uyqäminji.*

*moni w-i-q-m-ni-nji*

money 3-do-PFV-1s/IRR-FUT=IND

'If he had come upon me where I was getting (=stealing), I would have given him money.'

- 479) *...neqä yuquayä pyqä witangäqä iqi ätimäukuque.*  
*ne-qä yuquayä pyqä wä-ät-ang-äqä i=qi ä-timäu-k-qäqu=i*  
 1P-POSS cargo put lie-IPFV-DR-3S/DSO that-LOC ASS-arrive-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND  
 '...we arrived where our belongings were stored (while we were on our hunting trip).'

When the nominalized event is a contemporaneous habitual (hence intermittent) situation or more permanent state, an imperfective form of the verb is used. Examples (470) and (479) illustrate the contrast between an intermittent situation and a temporary state. Both are from the same text and refer to arrival at the temporary camp set up during a several-day hunt. The former example identifies the site as 'where we were sleeping' but they were not actually sleeping at that moment so the medial construction used in (479) would be inappropriate. A past progressive form, rather than a near-past, is used because the matrix verb is in the past tense.

In (465) repeated here as (480), a final form is used in preference to a medial because the man being a power-worker is more permanent or habitual than the situations in examples (478) and (479).

- 480) *Itäpi, päwä imäkätqäquwä hqu qe änätma*  
*i-ta-pi päwä imäk-ätq-äq-uwä hn-qu qe ä-na-tma*  
 that-SRC-GVN power make-PRGV-IPFV-23P/DSO INDEF=M CERT ASS-1P-get

*äpeyqe.*

*ä-p-y-q-qäqä-i*

ASS-come-go.up.3S/DSO=IND

'After that, one of the power makers (electricity plant workers) led us up.'

In the first sentence of (481), the process of generating power is encoded using an independent final verb in the present progressive tense/aspect. In the second sentence, the same process is encoded as a nominalized clause using a near-past progressive form because of the constraint on clitics attaching to the associative suffixes.

- 481) *Aaŋä qua maeqä imäkätqäŋä. Päwä imäkätqäŋuwi,*  
*aaŋä qua ma-e-qä imäk-ätq-äŋ-ä päwä imäk-ätq-äŋ-uwä=i*  
 true ground NEG-be-DVZR MAKE-PRGV-IPFV-23P/ASO power make-PRGV-IPFV-23P/DSO=DEF  
*hikänäŋi.*  
*hikä-näŋä=i*  
 stone-very=IND  
 'They are making (power where there is) no true ground. (Where) they are making power, it's stone indeed.'

The examples below illustrate that clause complexes can be nominalized and embedded, reinforcing the analysis of these complexes as unitary. Example (482) shows a coordinate SR complex nominalized and marked as the source of information that guided the journey in the matrix predication. A serial verb complex is nominalized and personalized in (483), where the resultant NP is the subject/actor of the final clause.

- 482) *Iqu tuwaŋuä i ätätä äqämiŋqä ipisaŋi*  
*i-qu tuwaŋuä i ä-t-ät-ä ä-q-miŋ-qäqä i=pi=ta=ŋi*  
 that=M writing thus ASS-say-SR-3S/CSR ASS-act-PA/IPFV-3S/DSO that=DIM=SRC=GVN  
*qayä ikämiŋqe.*  
*qayä ikä-miŋ-qäqä=i*  
 walk tour-PA/IPFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'From the little (instruction) that he spoke in writing, I travelled around (=found my way).'
- 483) *...änätma ikityqä iqu, ti qe änatqäqe.*  
*ä-na-tma ikä-ätq-äŋ-qäqä i-qu, ti qe ä-na-t-q-qäqä=i*  
 ASS-1P-take tour-PRGV-IPFV-3S/DSO that=M thus CERT ASS-1P-say-IPFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 '... the one leading us around said this to us.'

#### 5.4.2.2 Purpose clauses

The use of the intensive (4.2.3.3) and future intensive (4.2.3.5) in clauses to indicate the purpose of the matrix event is a special case of clause embedding. It differs from the uses outlined in 5.4.2.1 in that there is usually no additional marking on the verb to indicate that it is embedded. The 'goal' clitic (3.4.3) indicates the destination of a movement and various other 'referential' arguments to which the event is directed. This same morpheme is also a distinctive part of the formation of the intensive (4.2.3.3) and future intent (4.2.3.5) forms of the verb, which can be used to encode the purpose of a matrix event. The four instances of this clitic in example (484) have been highlighted in the middle line and illustrate each of the categories of usage – destination in 'up to the forest', referential in 'for betel nut and vine-rope' and purpose on the verb of the highlighted clause.

- 484) *Iqu päṅṅqätä guṅṅqätä hiuṅṅ qunätṅqä*,<sup>132</sup> *qäuqä*  
*i-qu päṅṅ=ṅqä=tä guṅṅ=ṅqä=tä hiuṅṅ w-q-n-ät=ṅqä qäuqä*  
 that=M betel=GOAL=& vine=GOAL=& eye 3-act-DETR-3S/IRR=GOAL forest  
*yätuṅqä äikäqe.*  
*yä=tu=ṅqä ä-y-k-qäqä=i*  
 up=LOC=GOAL ASS-go.up-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'He had gone up to the forest to look for betel nut and vine-rope.'

As is the case with the other uses of dependent finals in nominalized clauses, the tense indicated by these verb forms is relative to the matrix event rather than to the speech act. In example (485) there are three clauses, the middle one being highlighted. The first clause is the independent main, bearing the indicative mood clitic, and the other two encode the purpose of the dispersing, presumably postposed because of its complexity. The highlighted clause is embedded in the last clause as the purpose of the preparations. Since there is an embedding of purposes here, the preparation clause uses the intensive form *imäkatuṅqä* and its embedded purpose clause uses the future intent form *yaniuṅquä* to indicate that the event is future relative to the preparation event.

- 485) ...*neqä aṅṅ iuṅṅ qe äuwekuqe,* *awiṅga qäuqä*  
*ne-qä aṅṅ i-u=ṅqä qe ä-we-k-qäqu=i awiṅga qäuqä*  
 1S-POSS house that=LOC=GOAL CERT ASS-disperse-PA/PFV-1P/DSO=IND tomorrow forest  
*yätuṅqä yaniuṅquä diṅqä nätmatqä näwenyä*  
*yä=tu=ṅqä i-a-ni-qäqu=ṅqä n-ti=ṅqä nätmatqä näwe=nä*  
 up=LOC=GOAL go.up-1P/IRR-FUT-1P/DSO=GOAL level=LOC=GOAL thing ready=FCS  
*imäkatuṅqä.*  
*imäk-atu=ṅqä*  
 make-1P/IRR=GOAL  
 '...we dispersed to our homes to get things ready for us to go up to the forest the next day.'

It should be noted that the doubly embedded clause in (485) is marked as subordinate by *diṅqä* which, as was stated in the previous section, appears to be more emphatic than the neutral *i* 'that'. Example (486) presents another instance of *diṅqä* being used to mark a purpose clause, this time with complexity in the matrix clause, in that it is a coordinate medial construction.

<sup>132</sup> At some point in the analysis of this text, *qunätṅqä* was changed to *qunätṅqe*, which would indicate the addition of the definiteness marker. Since this change was a later modification of the original and is the only instance in text of the definiteness clitic added to a purpose clause, the original form is being used here. The addition of the clitic may relate to the fact that the clause is also set off from what follows by a pause.



- 486) ...*nyi quya hiyuä quamqä* *diŋqä* *yä wäŋqä iuya*<sup>133</sup>  
*nyi quya hiyuä qua-m=ŋqä* *n-ti=ŋqä* *yä wäŋqä i-uy-a*  
 1s bark skewer pierce-1s/IRR=GOAL level=there=GOAL tree little that=NEU=PL  
*ätämäkätm* *näwenyä imäumiŋqe.*  
*ä-tämäk-ät-m* *näwe-nä i-mäu-miŋ-qäqä=i*  
 ASS-cut&make-SR-1s/CSR prepare=FCS ASS-do-CMPL-PA/IPFV-1s/DSO=IND  
 '...and I cut and prepared small sticks in order to skewer the bark (bundles).'

If the intentive and future intent forms which have the goal morpheme as the distinctive feature of the construction are sufficient to indicate purpose when embedded, what is the need and effect of the demonstrative with a recurrence of the goal marker? The answer may lie within the historical development of these forms. Ger Reesink (personal communication) has suggested that the sentences which have an intentive form as an independent final verb (4.2.3.3) may actually be truncated sentences, implying that the embedded purpose function of these forms is their primary function. Instances of intentive forms with the neutral verb *i* 'do' as its matrix serving almost as a semantically empty auxiliary may reinforce this idea. In (487) the opening temporal subordinate clause with an embedded intentive seems to imply imminency of the 'purpose' event rather than the performance of any act intended to bring about that event. Similarly, in (488), though the actor has purposed to speak, it is not clear what action the verb 'do' is referring to.

- 487) *Iŋi ne äpākonatunŋqä itaqäŋgaŋi, suqä äŋguänäŋä*  
*i=ŋi ne ä-pākon-atu-ŋqä i-ät-aqä-ŋga-ŋi suqä äŋguä-näŋä*  
 that=GVN 1P ASS-die-1P/IRR=GOAL do-SR-1P/DSR=TIME=GVN custom good-very  
*hui maetqä da ianique,...*  
*hn=i ma-e-t-qä da i-a-ni-qäqu=i*  
 INDEF=F NEG-2P-say-DVZR indeed do-1P/IRR-FUT-1P/DSO=IND  
 'And so given that we will not tell you any good customs when we are about to die, ...'
- 488) "Nyi kukŋuä hŋqu tmqä iqäqä qai he eeqänä  
*nyi kukŋuä hn-qu t-m=ŋqä i-q-qäqä qai he eeqä-nä*  
 1s talk INDEF=M say-1s/IRR=GOAL do-PFV-1s/DSO since 2P all=FCS  
*qätä nyipiyä."*  
*qätä n-i-i-p-yä*  
 ear 1s-do-BEN-23P/IRR=QT  
 'Because I'm going to speak to you, all of you listen to me.'

<sup>133</sup> This appears to be a demonstrative form that is rarely used and seemingly only for inanimates, hence the tentative gloss 'neutral' for the gender morpheme. The singular non-subject form is *ikui* yielding the variants *=ku* and *=uy* for this gender.

It is possible that the intensive-final and future-intent-final verb forms have derived from an original embedded-purpose-plus-auxiliary-‘do’ construction. The intensive and future intent forms would have developed by the embedding of the abilitative and future forms, their role being marked by the goal clitic =*ɣqä*. With the dropping of the sentence-final auxiliary, the embedded forms become ‘final’ and, over time, come to be used as independent finals in their own right. The =*ɣqä* may no longer be recognized as the goal clitic and, indeed, may have been reanalyzed as a suffix. This raises a possible explanation for the otherwise anomalous occurrence of the associative actor suffix set after the goal clitic in the construction of the obligative paradigm (4.2.3.4) – the obligative could be an even more recent development occurring only after the reanalysis of the clitic as a suffix.

As was the case with the other instances of nominalized clauses, the nominalized unit may itself have a clause embedded within it, as in (485), or be a coordinated clause complex, as in (489).

- 489) ...*hiäüqäɣqätä iwomäɣqätä ɣɣäɣqätä tuaqä äwätan*  
*hiäüqä=ɣqä-tä iwomä=ɣqä-tä ɣɣä=ɣqä-tä tuaqä ä-w-ät-an*  
 possum=GOAL-& lizard=GOAL-& bird=GOAL-& hunt ASS-go-SR-1P/CSR  
*asäkuiyätä qäpakätä täuqämetuɣqä watuɣqäɣgani,...*  
*asäkuiyä-tä qäpakä-tä täuqäma-atu=ɣqä w-atu=ɣqä=ɣga=ɣi*  
 blind=with noose=with night.hunt-1P/IRR=GOAL go-1P/IRR=GOAL=TIME=GVN  
 ‘... when we’re going to go in order to day-hunt for possums, lizards and birds and to night-hunt using blinds and traps..’

Finally, the actor of the embedded purpose clause does not have to be the same as that of the matrix clause (cf. 4.2.3.3). In (490) the purpose clause with a first-person dual actor is embedded within a nominalized clause with a third-person singular actor.

- 490) ...*ayä yeqä hiqɣqä yeqä hiqäqä weɣqä äyätapkäqä*  
*ayä ye=qä hiqɣqä ye=qä hiqäqä wä-e=ɣqä ä-ya-tap-k-qäqä*  
 house 1D-POSS signal 1D-POSS sleep lie-1D/IRR=GOAL ASS-1D-give-PA/PFV-3S/DSO  
*ique pmeqaygueäɣga,...*  
*i-qu-e pma-q-ayg-ueä=ɣga*  
 that=M-OJ be-PFV-DR-1D/DSO=TIME  
 ‘...we two remained at the room he had given us for us to sleep in and...’

#### 5.4.2.3 Tail-head linkage &/or topicalized clauses

The last uses of dependent final clauses to be presented are those instances where dependent medial clauses would be expected – in tail-head linkage and in the mainline chaining structure. The conditions

controlling the choice between dependent finals and dependent medials are far from clear. In the presentation that follows, some suggestions are made but these by no means account for every choice that the speakers make.

Although tail-head linkage normally uses clauses with dependent medial verb forms, dependent final forms can be used. In a selection of eleven texts with a total of 400 sentences, there are approximately 30 instances of a final form being used in this joining strategy (as well as an additional 50 final forms used in sentence medial clauses that are neither clearly embedded in the ways described in 5.4.2.1 nor one of these repetitive links). In about two-thirds of these 30 instances, there is a change of actor. One possible function of dependent finals being used as the tail-head link is to avoid using a DR form which, according to my analysis, would remove the referent from topical status. In (491), the speaker is addressing his new daughter-in-law and the first sentence of the example is the fourth relating to his son Matthew's relatives. The second sentence begins with a dependent final verb restating the event of the previous sentence that predicted the visit of the relatives. The following two clauses instruct the addressee on how to respond. In the first of these two clauses, the addressee is the actor and the relatives are the object (affected entity) but in the second they are combined as actor. The use of the final verb rather than a DR medial in the opening clause does not remove the relatives' topical status but does prepare the addressee for herself resuming centre stage.

- 491) *Iqua* *Matiu* *iqueqä* *ayä* *iqi* *timäupqge.*  
*i-qu=a* *Matiu* *i-qu=e-qä* *ayä* *i-qi* *timäu-p-qä=i*  
 that=M=PL Matthew that=M=OJ=POSS house that=LOC arrive-23P/IRR=GOAL=IND
- Ätimäquwi,* *si yeqä* *änguänäqä* *äuyätnä,* *iquatänä*  
*ä-timäu-q-uwä=i* *si yeqä* *änguä-näqä-w-i-ät-n* *i-qu=a-tä=nä*  
 ASS-arrive-PFV-23P/DSO=DEF 2s happy good-very ASS-3-do-SR-2S/CSR that=M=PL=with=FCS
- anä e pmapyqä.*  
*anä e pma-p-qä*  
 with thus be-23P/IRR=GOAL
- 'They will arrive at Matthew's house. (When) they have arrived, you(SG) are to welcome them and you(PL) are to be together in that way.'

This explanation does not as clearly hold up, however, in case like (492), where the actor of the highlighted tail-head linking clause does not retain any topicality, if it ever had any. In fact, the referent of the third singular actor suffix is unclear. The easy answer is to say that the referent is the car. Example

(493) is the preceding sentence, and it will be noted that the first clause has a first plural SR form even though the final verb indicates a third singular actor and first plural affectee. The argument that it is the topical entity (in this instance 'we') that is being tracked rather than the actor (5.1.2) would explain the use of the SR form here. The car could be the subject/actor of the second clause and the first part of (492) but it could also be the incorporated instrument as described in 4.3.4.2. If this is the case, then the actor of the getting and delivering events is an unidentified person leaving these clauses as pseudo-passives with the first plural affectee being the topic. The problematic final form *änäquatmäukäqe* could then be explained by the avoidance of a medial DR form which would indicate a loss of topicality when there is no topical entity that is losing its status. The only topical entity from the beginning has been the first plural group which consists of the three people referenced in the final clause of (492) – 'Carl' as the actor, and the speaker and one other as the affectee.

- 492) *Katä änämaqi, Okalumba du änäquatmäukäqe.*  
*katä ä-na-ma=qi Okalumba n=tu ä-na-quat-mäu-k-qäqä=i*  
 car ASS-1P-get=GVN Ukarumpa level=LOC ASS-1P-deliver-go-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND
- Okalumba du änäquatmäukäqe, Kalo iqu yeqä*  
*Okalumba n=tu ä-na-quat-mäu-k-qäqä=i Kalo i=qu ye=qä*  
 Ukarumpa level=LOC ASS-1P-deliver-go-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=DEF Carl that=M 1D=POSS
- aqä hyqu äyätapkäqe.*  
*aqä hn-qu ä-ya-tap-k-qäqä=i*  
 house INDEF=M ASS-1D-give-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND
- 'We were got by car and delivered to Ukarumpa. We were delivered to Ukarumpa and Carl gave us two a house.'

- 493) *Ayuta ätimani, Ayutataqi kata änämakäqe.*  
*Ayuta ä-timäu-ani Ayuta=ta=qi kata ä-na-ma-k-qäqä=i*  
 Aiyura ASS-arrive-1P/CSR Aiyura=ORIG=GVN car ASS-1P-get-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND
- 'We arrived at Aiyura and from Aiyura we were taken by car.'

There are still examples of final forms in tail-head linkage clauses that the DR-medial-avoidance explanation cannot account for, however -- most particularly where there is no apparent change of actor or topical entity. The highlighted clause in (494) is taken from the middle of a narrative about a journey to a village called Hanjuwa. The preceding sentence simply stated that the traveller stayed four days at Hanjuwa. The highlighted clause is, therefore, a transparent instance of tail-head linkage using a final form even though there is no change of participant at all. It is, however, a significant change point in the narrative. The first half of the story was about the journey to Hanjuwa; the preceding sentence encodes the

fact and duration of the stay and this sentence begins the journey home. Roberts (1988) and Stirling (1993), in their analyses of what is being tracked by switch-reference systems, both document changes of time and place as significant changes that can trigger the use of a DR medial even when there is no change of participant. These non-participant changes would explain several of the instances of final forms where medials would otherwise be expected.

- 494) *Hia hɣquaqu hɣquaqu äwäkäqäqe, mande yähiquitäyi,*  
*hia hn-qu=aqu hn-qu=aqu ä-wä-k-qäqä-i mande yähiquitä=ɣi*  
 night INDEF=M-DL INDEF=M-DL ASS-lie-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=DEF Monday morning=GVN  
*iqu Menyäma buqä qe äpawäkäqe.*  
*i-qu Menyäma m-tu-ɣqä qe ä-p-wä-k-qäqä-i*  
 that=M Menyämya down=LOC=GOAL CERT ASS-come-go.down-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'He stayed there four nights and on Monday morning he went down to Menyämya.'

Examples such as (495) and (496) remain a problem, however, in that the former uses a medial SR form in a similar situation, and the latter uses a final form where there is much less of a break in the action.

- 495) *Tri wik äpmeqe, po iqueɣi Mandeyi, Rupenä iqutä*  
*tri wik ä-pma-aqe, po i-qu=e-ɣi Mande=ɣi Rupenä i-qu=tä*  
 three week ASS-be-1P/DSR four that=M-OJ=GVN Monday=GVN Reuben that=M-&  
*Josepä iqutä balusi mbqä äyekiyi.*  
*Josepä i-qu=tä balusi mbqä ä-ya-i-i-k-iyä-i*  
 Joseph that=M-& plane money ASS-1D-do-BEN-PA/PFV-23D/DSO=IND  
 'We stayed three weeks and in the fourth, on Monday, Reuben and Joseph bought plane (tickets) for us.'
- 496) *Ämänäquatäqäqe, iqu qɣqayä qe ämäyeqe.*  
*ä-na-mäquat-q-qäqä-i i-qu qɣqayä qe ä-mäye-q-qäqä-i*  
 ASS-1P-bring-PFV-3S/DSO=DEF that=M door CERT ASS-close-PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 'He brought us and he closed the door.'

The introduction to this section made reference to fifty clauses with final forms used in sentence medial clauses that are neither clearly embedded in the ways described in 5.4.2.1 nor tail-head linkage clauses. Some of those clauses will be presented in 5.5.2 as being fully finite clauses (with mood clitics attached) that are juxtaposed in a paratactic, coordinate relation with one or more other finite clauses, yielding sentences comparable to English compound sentences without a conjunction and written with a semi-colon. Still others provide information that is part of the sentence frame providing the context in which the rest of the sentence applies. Example (497) in one such instance, taken from the text in which a father is instructing his newly married children. In the preceding sentence the father has told his son that he

needs to be thinking about work now that he's married. The highlighted clause is clearly not a tail-head link given that the final clause in the previous sentence used an intensive form with deontic force, as the final clause in this sentence does. Matthew's work that is referred to has not yet been done but, assuming it will be done, the wife is not to be lazy.

- 497) *Si apäkiki, Matiu iqu wäuyä iqäqe, si apäkiki*  
*si apäkä=i=ki Matiu i-qu wäuyä i-q-qäqä=i si apäkä=i=ki*  
 2s woman=F=2s Matthew that=M work do-PFV-3s/DSO=DEF 2s woman=F=2s  
*päkäpäkä mäpmeqä isyqe.*  
*päkäpäkä ma-pma-qä i-t-ḡqä=i*  
 rest NEG-be-DVZR D-2s/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'You wife, given that Matthew is working, you are not to be lazy.'

The highlighted clause in (498) has, I believe, a similar function though at first glance it appears to be another instance of tail-head linkage. Tail-head linkage is a device used in narrative whereas (498) is from a didactic text. The fact of having a wife is not given here simply to join the sentences but as part of the reasoning the father is presenting to his son. Though not explicitly encoded as a reason, a legitimate translation would be "Because you have taken a wife, you must not wander around ..."

- 498) *Matiuki, apäkä äyä ämenä. Apäkä ämeḡi, si*  
*Matiu=ki apäkä äyä ä-ma-q-n apäkä ä-ma-q-ḡä=i si*  
 Matthew=2s woman just ASS-get-PFV-2s/ASO woman ASS-get-PFV-2s/DSO=DEF 2s  
*hikḡäḡga ikitqäḡä ma, e mikiqä da isyqe.*  
*hikḡä-ḡga ikä-ätq-äḡ-ḡä ma e ma-ikä-qä da i-t-ḡqä=i*  
 youth=TIME tour-PRGV-IPFV-2s/DSO like thus NEG-tour-DVZR indeed do-2s/IRR=GOAL=IND  
 'Matthew, you've just taken a wife. Given that you have taken a wife, you are not to roam around like you used to roam when a youth.'

The various uses of nominalized clauses presented thus far, especially those marked only with the definite clitic =*i*, are not necessarily distinct functions and some examples are ambiguous as to which is the correct interpretation, if indeed they are different. The initial clause in (499) could be interpreted as having the contents of the speech as its referent, in which case the translation should be "What you've said to us, it is good." It could also be another instance of setting the frame for the following predication, in which case the referent is the fact that the talk has been given, and the better translation is that given below. A third alternative (to be presented in 5.5.2) is to interpret the clitic on *änatḡi* as the indicative mood marker and

the sentence as an example of juxtaposed main clauses, in which case "You have spoken to us that way; that's good" would be the appropriate translation<sup>134</sup>.

- 499) *Si e änatyi, i äuygui.*  
*si e ä-na-t-q-ya=i i äuyguä=i*  
 2s thus ASS-1P-say-2s/DSO=DEF that good=IND  
 'That you've just that said to us, it is good.'

#### 5.4.2.4 Subordinating particles

In addition to subordination being indicated by the normal NP-marking demonstratives and case markers, there are two subordinating particles that follow dependent final clauses. These are the comparative particle *ma ~ pa* 'like/as' and the causal particle *qai* 'since'.

The comparative *ma* is illustrated in (498) above by *hikyaäga ikitqäya ma* 'like you used to roam when a youth'. The variant *pa*, the two being fully interchangeable<sup>135</sup>, is used in (500). When the similarity is between objects rather than entities, the third-singular, near-past stative form of the verb *e* 'be/put' is required to make the nominal into a clause, as in (501). This example is describing a bird's call when a man comes near its nest, and asserts that the bird imitates a man.

- 500) *Iqu nyi ätukäqä pa imäkkäqe.*  
*i-qu nyi ä-w-t-k-qäqä pa imäk-k-qäqä=i*  
 that=M 1s ASS-3-say-PA/PFV-1s/DSO like make-PA/PFV-3s/DSO=IND  
 'He did as I told him.'

- 501) *Iyi yya äkakänäqä matqä da yän. Ämaqäqu*  
*i-yi yya äkakä-näqä ma-t-qä da i-ä-n ämaqä=qu*  
 that-GVN bird cry-very NEG-say-DVZR indeed do-3s/IRR-FUT person-M  
*eqä ma timäüän, iqueqä mayitaqi kukui.*  
*e-äq-qäqä ma timäü-ä-n i-qu=e-qä mayä=i-ta-yi kukyuä=i*  
 be-IPFV-3s/DSO like arrive-3s/IRR-FUT that=M=OJ=POSS mouth=DEF=SRC=GVN talk=DEF  
 'So it doesn't utter a real bird cry. It becomes like a man, (regarding) the talk from its mouth.'

<sup>134</sup> The fact that the indicative mood clitic and the definiteness marker (derived from the demonstrative 'that') are both =*i* complicates the interpretation. In Whitehead 1999 (ms), I addressed the question of whether these morphemes, along with the verb 'do', are coincidentally homophonous, or polysemic senses of a single morpheme best glossed as 'the neutral member of the category', whether verb, demonstrative or mood. The conclusion then and now is that polysemy is involved, especially with the definiteness marker and indicative marker since both mark information that the speaker is giving with a high degree of certainty (asserted as a given vs. asserted as new information). Unfortunately, that interpretation does not necessarily help to determine which function is in effect here though.

<sup>135</sup> This same alternation was noted for the prohibitive auxiliary in 4.3.3 but no relationship in meaning between these two morphemes has been noted this far.

The causal particle *qai* indicates that the preceding clause is the speaker's reason for making the following pronouncement. In example (488), repeated here as (502), and in (503) the pronouncement is an instruction, as is the case in all spontaneous occurrences of this construction to have been recorded.

- 502) "Nyi kukyuä hyqu tmqä iqäqä qai he eeqänä  
 nyi kukyuä hn-qu t-m=ŋqä i-q-qäqä qai he eeqä-nä  
 1s talk INDEF=M say-1s/IRR=GOAL do-PFV-1s/DSO since 2P all=FCS

qätä nyipiyä."

qätä n-i-i-p-yä

ear 1s-do-BEN-23P/IRR=QT

' "Since I'm going to speak to you, all of you listen to me." '

- 503) "Si ätma quyepqayŋŋqä ätäqäqä qai,  
 si ä-tma quyep-q-aŋg-ŋä-i-ŋqä ä-t-q-qäqä qai  
 2s ASS-get come.down-PFV-DR-2s/DSO=DEF=GOAL ASS-say-PFV-3s/DSO since

aŋgum huipiyä!"

aŋgum h-y-p-yä

again NEU-go.up-23P/IRR=QT

' "Since he spoke about you bringing them down, you (all) go back up!" '

### 5.4.3 Deverbalization

Deverbalization refers to the use of the suffix *-qä* on the verb nucleus (4.2.1), in the place of the normal tense, aspect, actor and mood markers, to derive some other part of speech from a verb. This was described as the structure for derived nouns (3.2.2.2) and it was pointed out that it is really clauses that are being derived and assigned a nominal function. (As a corollary to that observation, it was also suggested that the deverbalizing marker should perhaps be considered a clitic rather than an affix.) Deverbalized clauses are also used adverbially (4.3.2). Furthermore, the normal negative construction, with its negated and deverbalized form of the semantically main verb followed by an auxiliary verb bearing the post-nuclear suffixation, is analyzed as actually being a deverbalized clause modifying the auxiliary (4.3.3), rather than being two verbs that form a complex predicate in a single clause. Deverbalization of a clause is not a radically different process than the nominalization process presented in 5.4.2, but a conditioned variant. Whereas nominalized final clauses refer to specific events grounded in time, deverbalized clauses refer to generalized propositions which may or may not be associated with specific referents. And just as other nominalized clauses could have the event itself or one of its arguments as referent, so deverbalized clauses can refer to either the abstract situation or the performer of such situations.



Two deverbalized clauses are used in (504). The first, *mbqä eqeqqä* 'about the putting of money', is an abstraction of the event of fine-paying rather than a reference to the specific fine paid on this occasion. The second, *ämaqä kukyuä jänä imäqä iqua* 'the men who make talk straight', identifies the referents as people who are characterized by the ability to settle disputes and are regularly occupied in that role.

- 504) *Mbqä eqeqqä ätäpu, ämaqä kukyuä jänä imäqä*  
*mbqä e-qä=i-ηqä ä-t-ät-pu ämaqä kukyuä jänä imäq-qä*  
 money put-DVZR=DEF=GOAL ASS-say-SR-23P/CSR man talk straight make-DVZR  
*iqua qηgaηä äyekuwi.*  
*i-qu=a qηgaηä ä-ye-k-uwä=i*  
 that=M=PL door ASS-close-PA/PFV-23P/DSO=IND  
 'The dispute settlers spoke about fine-paying and put an end to the dispute.'

In (505) the deverbalized *yeeqä iηqe* 'happy being' is the subject of the second clause. In (506) the same phrase is being used adverbially to modify the state of being.

- 505) *Äηguänäηä pmamitpqe yeeqä iηqe hiyaqä awä*  
*äηguä-näηä pma-mit-p-qä=i yeeqä i-n-qä=i he-yaqä awä*  
 good-very be-DUR-23P/IRR-GEN=DEF happy do-DETR-DVZR=DEF 2P=POSS middle  
*iqi witaguti...*  
*i-qi wä-ät-ayg-ä=ti*  
 that=LOC lie-IPFV-DR-3S/IRR=DUBIT  
 'Whenever you live well, happiness will be in your midst and...'
- 506) "...*äηguänäηä yeeqä iηqe mäpmeqä ipnuwiqä.*"  
*äηguä-näηä yeeqä i-n-qä=i ma-pma-qä i-p-ni-uwä=i-qä*  
 good-very happy do-DETR-DVR=DEF NEG-BE-DVZR DO-23P/IRR-FUT-23P/DSO=IND=QT  
 ' "...you will not be able to dwell well (and) happily." '

Consistent with other nominalized clauses referring to the speech act participants, the appropriate personalizing clitics are used.

- 507) *Iηä qe si ηygisanä iqäquki esqe,...*  
*i-ηä qe si ηygisa-nä i-qä-qu=ki e-t-qä=i*  
 that=GVN but 2s disrespect=FCS do-DVZR=M=2s be-2S/IRR-GEN=DEF  
 'But whenever you are a disrespectful person, ...'

Deverbalized clauses are frequently used as the predicate in descriptive texts. Example (508) is the opening sentence of a text about a bird of paradise species; the subsequent sentences are verbal, using abilitative and intentive forms (4.2.3.2 and 4.2.3.3) to provide the detailed activities of the birds' house-building technique.

- 508) *Pmuaeqe, iqua aŋä imäkäqä quae.*  
*pmuaeqa=i i=qu=a aŋä imäk-qä qu=a=i*  
*pmuaeqa=DEF that=M=PL house make-DVZR M=PL=IND*  
 'The *pmuaeqa*, they are house-builders.'

Example (509) is the opening sentence from a text about traditional fighting but in this text the sentence-final clauses of the subsequent sentences are a mixture of similar non-verbal predicates and verbal predicates. Such non-verbal clauses can also be used as the frame for the main predication. The first clause of (510), which occurs later in this text, is actually a repeat of the previous sentence and so could be a case of tail-head linkage. As was the case with (498), however, since this is not a narrative text it is more likely that the clause is repeated as the explanation for what follows.

- 509) *Iqua mäkäŋgaŋi, mäki huiuta mauŋqä quae.*  
*i=qu=a mäkä=ŋga=ŋi mäkä=i hn=i=u=ta ma-u-n-qä qu=a=i*  
*that=M=PL fight=TIME=GVN fight=DEF INDEF=F=PL=OJ=SRC NEG-shoot-DETR-DVZR M=PL=IND*  
 'In the time of fighting, they were not ones who fought each other for just anything.'
- 510) *Huyakä pmaŋuä muasimäuqä quae, iqua mäki ita*  
*huyakä pmaŋuä muasimäu-qä qu=a=i i=qu=a mäkä=i i=ta*  
*cassowary.bone long.bead thread-DVZR M=PL=DEF that=M=PL fight=DEF that=SRC*  
*huŋqä quae.*  
*h-u-n-qä qu=a=i*  
*NEU-shoot-DETR-DVZR M=PL=IND*  
 'Given that that they are makers of cassowary-bone wedding waistbands, they are ones who fight from that. (i.e. they fight about married women.)'

Deverbalized clauses can also be case-marked to indicate their role in the matrix clause. The first of the clauses in (504) was marked by the goal clitic as being what the predicated talk was about. Deverbalized clauses marked by *=ŋqä* can also encode negative purpose, translatable as 'lest'-clauses. Such clauses are often given as postposed explanations, as is the case with (512). In this example, two propositions are combined in a coordinate medial structure that is deverbalized and both events are to be avoided, showing again that the coordinate medial clause is equal in status with whatever clause it is joined to.

- 511) *Quaŋä päkŋqä diŋqä qeqäqeqä u!*  
*quaŋä päk-n-qä n=ti=ŋqä qeqä-qeqä w(-t)*  
*fall hit-DETR-DVZR level=there=GOAL slow-slow go(-2s/IRR)*  
 'Go slowly lest you fall! (lit. about falling)'

- 512) ...ämaqe hiuqä äqumbu mäkä iqäñqä.  
 ämaqä=i hiuqä ä-w-q-n-pu mäkä i-qä=ñqä  
 people=DEF eye ASS-3-act-DETR-23P/CSR fight do-DVZR=GOAL  
 '...lest the people see and fight (us).'

Finally, the contrary-to-fact condition is encoded with a deverbalized clause followed by the subordinating particle *säpi(qäm)*, as was mentioned in 4.2.3.7.

- 513) Nyi ämetqätangäqä yäm, iqu änyimeqä säpi, nyi  
 nyi ä-ma-ätq-ät-añg-qäqä y=m i-qu ä-n-ima-qä säpi nyi  
 1s ASS-get-PRGV-IPFV-DR-3S/DSO up=unseen that=M ASS-1s-meet-DVZR CTF 1s  
 moni uyqäminji.  
 moni w-i-q-m-ni=ñji  
 money 3-do-PFV-1s/IRR-FUT=IND  
 'If he had come upon me where I was getting (=stealing), I would have given him money.'

- 514) Qe balusi ai äwqä säpiqäm, nyi guä hiñgämiñgä;...  
 qe balusi ai ä-w-qä säpiqäm nyi guä h-e-n-q-m-ni-n-kä  
 2s plane done ASS-go-DVZR CTF 1s rope NEU-be-DETR-PFV-1s/IRR-FUT-?=MOOD  
 'If you two had already gone on the plane, I would be in prison; ...'

## 5.5 Sentences with multiple independent clauses

There are two contexts in which Menya sentences can have more than one independent clause within a single sentence. The first of these is the quote clause construction in which a direct quote is contained within a quote predication. The second is the coordinate independent structure in which two or more clausal units (simple or complex), each headed by a clause with a fully specified final verb are juxtaposed, with only the final conjunct bearing the normal intonation pattern for its mood. There may or may not be a conjunctive element between the independent units.

### 5.5.1 Direct quote construction

In the direct quote construction, the quote is a separate discourse independent of the quote predication, even though it is in one sense embedded within it. The identity of the speech act time and participants for the quoted discourse are, of course, recoverable from the quote predication but the quoted sentence is as independent as it was in its original utterance where the contextual information was provided non-linguistically. Since the closest Menya comes to an indirect quote construction is the use of the goal clitic =ñqä with a dependent final clause as in (503), I will not always specify 'direct' in this section.

The primary quote predication is headed by a form of the verb *t*, which is generally glossed as 'say' even though it includes the production of a lot more noises than those produced by vocal chords (cf. 4.3.4). In the simplest form of the quote construction, the quote precedes the speech verb and there is no intonation break between the quote itself and the speech verb (515).

- 515) "Si yaqueqä hiawiqä hɣqu päkiyä" ätukäqe.  
 si yaqueqä hiawiqä hn=qu päk-t=yä ä-w-t-k-qäqä=i  
 2s pig black INDEF=M kill-2s/IRR=QT ASS-3-say-PA/PFV-3s/DSO=IND  
 'He said to him, "You kill a black pig."'

An end-of-quote clitic is attached to the end of the quoted clause but the form of this clitic varies according to the preceding morpheme, as displayed in Table 46. The first two lines show the forms that occur with the four primary mood clitics. The third row shows the form that follows the goal clitic in the intensive forms (when there is no mood clitic) and the one that follows the final morpheme of the abilitative paradigm (which does not allow a mood clitic). The second half of the table provides the forms that follow the associative suffixes (present realis and obligative paradigms) and the irrealis suffixes (hortative paradigm), given that these actor suffixes also do not allow mood clitics.

Table 46. end-of-quote clitic forms

Table 46. end-of-quote clitic forms

indicative	-i-qä	dubitative	-ti-yä
polar interrogative	-ta-nä	WH-interrogative	-wä-Ø
intensive	-ɣqä-nä	abilitative	-n-ä

	1S	2S	3S	1D	23D	1P	23P
associative suffixes	-ä-nä	-n-yä	-i-yä	-ue-ä	-iny-qä	-u-nä	-ä-uä
irrealis suffixes	-m-ä	-(t)-yä	-ä-nä	-a-yä	-iny-qä	-an-ä	-p-yä

The clitic that attaches to the second person hortative forms to emphasize a command (4.2.3.1) is the same as the end-of-quote clitic and is associated with the =nä clitic that is used to mark focal new information within a clause. The quoted material is the focal new information within the quote construction and so is an obvious candidate for being marked as focus. The distinction between focus clitic and end-of-quote clitic is made because, when used within a clause, the form is consistently =nä whereas, when used at the end of a clause, the form varies.

The sentence that precedes (515) in its natural context is given as (516) and shows that a speech can be introduced by a speech act predication containing the cataphoric use of the near demonstrative *ti*, referring forward to the instruction to kill a black pig.

- 516) *Itämeqäpiyqaweqä*      *kanique*      *äwimetä*      *ti*  
*Itämeqäpiyqawu=e=qä*      *kä-an-i-qu=e*      *ä-w-ima-ät-ä*      *ti*  
*Itämeqäpiyqawu=OJ=POSS*      3-father=DEF=M=OJ      ASS-3-meet-SR-3S/CSR      thus  
*ätukäqe.*  
*ä-w-t-k-qäqä-i*  
ASS-3-say-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
‘He came to *Itämeqäpiyqawu*’s father and said this to him.’

These two examples together demonstrate that the same speech act can be encoded twice. The *ätukäqe* in (515) and (516) refer to the same speech act, the second reference providing an elaboration of the first. Later in the same text, (517) occurs with rising, sentence-medial intonation on the speech verb, demonstrating that the dual reference to a single speech act can be combined into one sentence.

- 517) *...imäupiyi*      *ti*      *ätukäqe,*      “*Yä aṽä hṽqu haqä*  
*i-mäu-piyi=ṽi*      *ti*      *ä-w-t-k-qäqä-i*      *yä aṽä hn-qu haqä*  
do-CMPL-23P/DSR=GVN      thus      ASS-3-say-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND      tree      house      INDEF=M      above  
*yäṽi mätäṽqunä.”*  
*yä=ṽi mät-an-ṽqä-u-nä*  
up-LOC      build-1P/IRR=GOAL-1P/ASO=FCS  
‘...after they finished that he said this to them, “We must build a wood house over the top.”’

The shorter the quote, the more likely it is that it will be included within the clause headed by the speech verb as in (518), which also demonstrates that the direct quote construction is not necessarily sentence final.

- 518) *Yäpaqä mṽṽgisa ätqäüä*      “*Eä eenä*”      *natäqayṽqäṽṽga,*  
*yäpaqä m-ṽṽgisa ä-tqäü-ä*      *eä eä-nä na-t-q-aṽg-qäqä-ṽga*  
outside      down=side      ASS-stand-3S/CSR      come come=QT      1P-say-PFV-DR-3S/DSO=TIME  
*ne qe ätimäuque,*      *yäpaqä mṽṽgisa.*  
*ne qe ä-timäü-q-qäqu-i*      *yäpaqä mṽ-ṽṽgisa*  
1P CERT      ASS-arrive-PFV-1P/DSO=IND      outside      down=side  
‘He stood outside and said to us “Come, come!” and we arrived outside.’

Longer quotes, by contrast, will sometimes be broken up with the speech verb repeated several times. The first line of (519) ends with a clear intonation break but the remainder is a single sentence

- 519) *Ga nyi ti ätukäqe,* "Ye quapiqä täu weŋqeä."  
*ga nyi ti ä-w-t-k-qäqä=i* ye quapiqä tä=u w-e=ŋqä=i=qä  
 ok 1s thus ASS-3-say-PA/PFV-1s/DSO=IND 1D plain this=LOC go-1D/IRR=GOAL=IND=QT  
*"Suäwätängui ätimäüätayä"* ätukäqe, "Pipisisä  
*Suäwätängui ä-timäü-ät-a=yä"* ä-w-t-k-qäqä=i Pipisi=tä  
*Suäwätängui* ASS-arrive-SR-1D/CSR=FCS ASS-3-say-PA/PFV-1s/DSO=DEF Pipisi=&  
*Kuayuwäwisä iuŋguiyä bu ätimäüätayä"*  
*Kuayuwäwi=tä iuŋguiyä m=tu ä-timäü-ät-a=yä*  
*Kuayuwäwi=&* confluence down=LOC ASS-arrive-SR-1D/CSR=FCS  
*ätukäqe,* "täukoŋi quyeqeŋqeä."  
*ätukäqe* täukoŋä=i quyeq-e=ŋqä=i=qä  
 ASS-3-say-PA/PFV-1s/DSO=IND riverbed=DEF go.down-1D/IRR=GOAL=IND=QT  
 'Then I said this to him, "We're going to go across this flat place. We'll reach *Suäwätängui* (ridge)" I told him, "and arrive at the confluence of the *Pipisi* and the *Kuayuwäwi*" I told him "and go down the riverbed."

Other more specific speech act predications, such as *yatŋqä wi* 'question do', can either stand alone as the quote predication (519) or be used in conjunction with the verb 'say' (520).

- 520) ...*yatŋqä ti änekuwi,* "He qayä äungä ikäka  
*yatŋqä ti ä-na-i-k-uwä=i* he qayä=i äungä ikä-ka  
 ask thus ASS-1P-do-PA/PFV-23P/DSO=IND 2P walk=DEF good tour-SER/DUR  
*äquyepätqäŋä,* ä quyqätano?"  
*ä-quyep-ätq-äŋ-ä* ä quyqä=ta=nä-o  
 ASS-come.down-PRGV-IPFV-23P/ASO or bad=POLQ=FCS=EMPH  
 '...they asked us "Have you walked around well and come, or badly?"'  
 521) ...*iqu yatŋqä qe äneyqe,* "He wäuyä  
*i-qu yatŋqä qe ä-na-i-q-qäqä=i* he wäuyä=i  
 that=M ask CERT ASS-1P-do-PFV-3s/DSO=IND 2P work=DEF  
*äkitayueŋgä?"* änatätä.  
*äk-i-ta-ŋu=en-kä* ä-na-t-ät-ä  
 which=DEF=SRC=M=2P=MOOD ASS-1P-say-SR-3s/CSR  
 '...he questioned us, saying "Which work (company) are you from?"'

In the (tail-head) rearticulation of a quote construction, the quote may be repeated, as in (522), reinforcing its status as contained within the speech act clause. The longer the quote is, however, the more likely it is to be replaced with a demonstrative such as the adverbial *e* 'that', as in (523) which is from the sentence following (520).

- 522) "Suäŋqä kiŋgaŋikä?" *tuqanğa...*  
*sä-ŋqä k-i-n-q-aŋg-i-kä w-t-q-aŋg-ŋga*  
 what=GOAL 2S-do-DETR-PFV-DR-3S/ASO=INFOQ 3-say-PFV-DR=TIME  
 'They said to him "What do you want?" and...'

- 523) *Qu yatŋqä e neyqanğuwäŋga...*  
*qu yatŋqä e na-i-q-aŋg-uwä-ŋga*  
 3P ask that 1P-do-PFV-DR-23P/DSO=TIME  
 'They questioned us in that way and ...'

### 5.5.2 Coordination of finite clauses

The juxtaposition of fully-specified clauses (or clause complexes) in a paratactic or equal relationship within a sentence is relative rare in Menya discourse, especially in narrative. Because of the phonological identity between the most common mood clitic =*i* 'indicative' and the cliticized variant of the neutral demonstrative, =*i* 'definite', it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between paratactic coordination and one of the uses of dependent final clauses (5.4.2). The presentation here will, therefore, begin with instances of the coordination of clauses in other moods, and then move on to some of the more likely candidates for coordinated indicatives.

In (524), the first two clause complexes are past imperfective dubitatives expressing the speaker's amazement and/or puzzlement about how the underground chamber for the hydro-electric machinery was made. There is no intonation break between these two clauses. There is a rising intonation and slight pause between the second dubitative and the following clause so it is difficult to tell whether this last clause should be considered a separate sentence.

- 524) *Hikä myä änä ipu ätäumiŋuwäti masinäqä änä*  
*hikä myä änä i-ät-pu ä-täu-miŋ-uwä-ti masinäqä änä*  
 stone axe how do-SR-23P/CSR ASS-cut-PA/IPFV-23P/DSO=DUBIT machine how  
*itä äptämiŋqäti; aayä qua maeqä*  
*i-ät-ä ä-pt-miŋ-qäqä-ti aayä qua ma-e-qä*  
 do-SR-3S/CSR ASS-dig-PA/IPFV-3S/DSO=DUBIT true ground NEG-be-DVZR  
*imäkätqäqä.*  
*imäk-ätq-äŋ-ä*  
 make-PRGV-IPFV-23P/ASO  
 'I wonder how they used tools and cut the rock or how a machine cut the rock; they are working without true ground.'

Examples (525) and (526) are both polar interrogatives with two alternatives specified. In both cases the second clause has been significantly reduced on the basis of ellipsis. In the first, the whole sentence is

under a single intonation contour with a sustained high developing over *qäquangui* and falling through *iquanguäqä* to signal the sentence end. The second of these examples is from a written text (with intonation data supplied later) but is comparable to that in (525) except that there is a pause before the conjunctive particle *ä*. The verb *äquyepätqäqä* is lacking the polar interrogative clitic *=ta* because of the presence of the associative actor suffix which does not allow mood clitics. The clause complex's status as a question is established by the writer's own translation plus the fact that the preceding clause (similar to (521)) and following clause (given as (523)) in the text refer to the speech act as a question.

- 525) *Wäuyi qäquangui äukiyäta, iqu iquanguäqä?*  
*wäuyä-i qä-qu-angi ä-w-k-iyä=ta i-qu i-qu-angi-qä*  
 work=DEF exact=M=2D ASS-go-PA/PFV-23D/DSO=POLQ that=M that=M=2D=POSS  
 'Did the two of you go to the work, or each of you to his own?'  
 526) "He *qayä äungä ikäka äquyepätqäqä, ä quyqätano?"*  
*he qayä-i äungä ikä-ka ä-quyep-ätq-η-ä ä quyqä-ta-nä-o*  
 2P walk=DEF good walk-SER/DUR ASS-come-PRGV-IPFV-23P/ASO or bad-POLQ-FCS-EMPH  
 '... "Have you had a good trip and now come, or was it a bad one?"'

Clause reduction can also take place in the first conjunct, as in (527) which is taken from a discussion about the pictures in a calendar. The verb *wä* 'lie/go down' serves as the existential verb for items in a horizontal position but is omitted in the first conjunct. The omission of the existential verb in present tense is quite common; perhaps the unusual feature of this sentence is that the verb is included in the second conjunct.

- 527) *Tä sipqäti botqä äwitäti.*  
*tä sipqä=ti botqä ä-wä-ät-ä=ti*  
 this ship=DUBIT boat ASS-lie-IPFV-3S/IRR=DUBIT  
 'I wonder if this is a ship or a boat.'

The two conjuncts in a sentence are not necessarily in the same tense and mood. The verb in the first conjunct of (528) is the same present dubitative form just seen whereas the matrix verb in the second is a hortative form, signalling that this clause complex is a command to the speaker's wife. In this instance, the present dubitative is the functional equivalent of the English conditional 'If there is...'. In (529) the first conjunct is a summary statement headed by a present progressive verb form and the second is an instruction headed by an abilitative irrealis form.



- 528) *Buayä häḡä hui äwitäti, aquyä äqiyäpu hikä*  
*buayä häḡä hn=i ä-wä-ät-ä-ti aquyä ä-q-ät-pu hikä*  
 sweet.potato new INDEF=F ASS-lie-IPFV-3S/IRR=DUBIT gather ASS-act-SR-23P/CSR stone

*ikiḡiyä!*

*ik-p-yä*

cook-23P/IRR=QT

‘Should there be some fresh sweet potato, gather and cook it in a ground oven.’

- 529) *...qätä äyä änyiyätqäḡä, mä awiḡgaḡi imäkäpu*  
*qätä äyä ä-n-i-i-ätq-äḡ-ä mä awiḡga=ḡi imäk-ät-pu*  
 ear just ASS-1S-do-BEN-PRGV-IPFV-23P/ASO so tomorrow=GVN make-SR-23P/CSR

*pmeqäpn.*

*pma-q-p-n*

be-PFV-23P/IRR-FUT

‘...you have just heard me (saying ...) so from now on live doing those things.’

On occasion, when several days pass by in a narrative without noteworthy events taking place, the speaker will string together several independent clause complexes into a single sentence. In (530), each comma represents a rise in intonation followed by a pause; this is all new information advancing the story line by letting the audience know how time was spent during this hiatus in a journey.

- 530) *Wäu yätu yäquatmäuqanḡa, Jepri Nänḡa iqueuä iḡtä*  
*Wäu yä=tu ya-quat-mäu-q-anḡ-nḡa Jepri Nänḡa i-qu=e-uä i-qu-tä*  
 Wau up=LOC 1D-bring-go-PFV-DR=TIME Jeff Nanga that=M=OJ=POSS that=M=&

*hiqaqä äwäkuee,*

*yähiḡuitäḡi, uyatuwänayi iḡi*

*hiqaqä ä-wä-k-ueä=i*

*yähiḡuitä=ḡi uyatuw-n-ayi i=ḡi*

sleep ASS-lie-PA/PFV-1D/DSO=DEF morning=GVN awake-DETR-1D/DSR that=LOC

*äpmakuee,*

*awiḡga mändaḡi, e nyi balusi mbqä*

*ä-pma-k-ueä=i*

*awiḡga mända=ḡi e nyi balusi mbqä*

ASS-be-PA/PFV-1D/DSO=DEF tomorrow beyond=GVN thus 1S plane money

*qe ikäqäqä -- Yäkepänḡä.*

*qe i-k-qäqä=i Yäkepä-nḡä*

CERT do-PA/PFV-1S/DSO=IND Yagepa=GOAL

‘The bus dropped us off at Wau then we slept at Jeff Nanga’s with him; in the morning, we arose and stayed there; on the next day I bought a plane ticket – for Yagepa.’

There are numerous instances of clauses with final verb forms occurring in the middle of a sentence in which it is difficult to determine the structure due to the homophony of the indicative clitic and the definiteness clitic (cf. the end of 5.4.2.3). Example (531), in which a newly married son is responding to his father’s advice to him and his bride, is similar to (499) which was discussed as being triply ambiguous. In this instance the first clause could be either nominalized and functioning as the fronted object of the verb

'hear', or it could be an independently asserted clause. The information is old in the sense that all the speech act participants know that the father has just spoken but it would be legitimate for the son to verbalize that knowledge and place it alongside his assertion that he and his bride have heard and responded.

- 531) ...*si e äyatɿt*,                      *ye qätä äkiyäta*                      *quamä*  
       *si e ä-ya-t-q-ɿä=i*                      *ye qätä ä-k-i-i-ät-a*                      *quamä*  
       2s thus ASS-1D-say-2s/DSO=IND 1D ear ASS-2s-do-BEN-SR-1D/CSR seated  
       *äpmeque.*  
       *ä-pma-q-ue*  
       ASS-be-PFV-1D/ASO  
       '...you have spoken to us in that way and we have sat and heard you.'

## 5.6 Conjunctions

Papuan languages with medial verb systems typically do not have a rich inventory of conjunctions. Farr (1999:16) notes that Korafe is somewhat unusual "in having upwards of 20 conjunctions and conjunction complexes, which are related to demonstrative forms and/or same subject medial verb forms". Menya is similar to Korafe in having conjunctions and conjunctive phrases based on demonstratives and medial verb forms, but differs in not having as rich a system and in having adapted DR medials rather than SR medials. The majority are derivatives of the neutral demonstrative 'that' or the verb 'do', both of which are manifested as *t*; this effects a lack of clarity in some cases as to which is the root morpheme. Some are forms of the verb *e* 'be/put' and there are also some unrelated conjunctive particles. Approximately 75% of all conjunctive elements occur sentence-initially, indicating that they are primarily discourse (inter-sentential) connectives rather than inter-clausal.

The extent of the use of these conjunctive units varies greatly according to text type/genre, communication medium (oral vs. written), and personal style. In narratives recorded between 1975 and 1985 very few occur, often only one per ten sentences. By contrast, tail-head rearticulation in such texts is far more frequent. Non-narrative text, including court proceedings, from the same era have conjunctions in 25-40% of sentences and, in a collection of written texts about making traditional weaponry, almost every sentence contains at least one. In more recent written texts, both narrative and non-narrative, the rate of occurrence is 35-50% of sentences. In narrative text the logical connection between most sentences as well

as clauses is temporal sequence, for which tail-head linkage is ideally suited. Other logical relationships are more common in other text genres. As a written style has developed, there has been a move to replace rearticulation with shorter conjunctive elements even in narrative discourse.

The conjunctions based on the demonstrative *i* 'that' are given below. All are used anaphorically, pointing back within the text to something more than a particular person or thing; that is, to an event or whole series of events. Most of the morphemes that are added to the demonstrative root are clitics that normally occur on NPs within clauses specifying their relationship. The morpheme *-wä*, the last member of the list, is problematic in that neither the information-question mood nor the serializing clitic with this shape seem to contribute to the meaning here. The resultant meanings are not as distinct as their literal meanings, as evidenced by frequent changes during the editing process and differences of opinion among native speakers as to which are needed and appropriate in which contexts. When the first three of these occur without the 'given' clitic *=yi*, they generally have a nominal referent and an argument role within a clause, rather than being inter-clausal or inter-sentential conjunctions.

<u>Form</u>	<u>Composition</u>	<u>Literal meaning</u>	<u>Effective meaning</u>
<i>iyi</i>	<i>i + yi</i>	'given that'	'therefore'
<i>itayi</i>	<i>i + ta + yi</i>	'from that'	'after that, as a result'
<i>iygayi</i>	<i>i + yga + yi</i>	'that time'	'then'
<i>iyä qe</i>	<i>i + yi + qe</i>	'given that' + 'contrast'	'but'
<i>iwä</i>	<i>i + wä</i>	'that-??'	'so'

Example (532) follows a direct quote construction in which John was accused of gardening on another's land. This is a fairly recent written text and, quite likely, a rearticulation clause would have been used instead of *iyi* if this were a spoken text.

- 532) *Iyi Jonä iqu pämä ämätqäuäqe, tinä ätukäqe.*  
*i=yi Jonä i-qu pämä ä-mä-tqäu-äqe ti-nä ä-w-t-k-qäqä=i*  
 that John that=M stand ASS-?-stand-3s/DSR this=FCS ASS-3-say-PA/PFV-3s/DSO=IND  
 'Therefore John stood up and said this to him.'

Examples (533) and (534) shows two instances of *itayi* with varied meanings. The first is from a hunting story and follows the statement that the two actors had slept on a riverbank, and the relationship between the two sentences would appear to be little more than sequentiality. The second example comes near the end of the father's instruction to his newly married son and daughter-in-law after he has told them

that they are to give the same teaching to their children, the result being that those children will pass it on to theirs in turn. Sequentiality is a component of the relationship here also but more significant is the sense of contingency that is reflected in the author's translation of *itaji* into the Tok Pisin *olsem* 'in the same way, and so'.

- 533) *Itaji, yāhiquitāgi ye āmäuyatuwānayi, ye qe*  
*i=ta=gi yāhiquitā=gi ye ā-mā-uyatuwā-n-ayi ye qe*  
 that=SRC=GVN morning=GVN 1D ASS-?-arouse-DETR-1D/DSR 1D CERT

*āwākuee.*

*ā-wā-k-ueā-i*

ASS-go.down-PA/PFV-1D/DSO=IND

'After that, we got up in the morning and we went down.'

- 534) *Itaji iqua, iquauqā ymeqā du,*  
*i=ta=gi i-qu=a i-qu=a=u=qā ymeqā n=tu*  
 that=SRC=GVN that=M=PL that=M=PL=OJ=POSS child level=LOC

*motuqapnuwāqā.*

*w-mātuqa-p-ni-uwā=qā*

3-show-23P/IRR-FUT-23P/DSO=GOAL

'As a result, they will teach their children.'

The development of conjunctions or conjunctive phrases from medial verbs could be a natural extension of the anaphoric pro-verb use of 'do' and 'be' in tail-head rearticulation rather than repeating the explicit verb used in the previous sentence. Unexpectedly, however, it is stative DR forms that are used even when there is no change of participant. The most common of these forms, in order of frequency, and with very approximate glosses, are:

Form	Composition	Form description	Gloss
<i>itanga</i>	<i>i-āt-ang-nga</i>	actor-neutral stative temporal DR of 'do'	and/then
<i>itangani</i>	<i>i-āt-ang-nga-ni</i>	actor-neutral temporal DR of 'do' + 'given'	and/then
<i>i hitangi</i>	<i>i h-e-āt-ang-i</i>	third singular stative coordinate DR of 'be'	but
<i>itangāqānga</i>	<i>i-āt-ang-qāqā-nga</i>	third singular stative temporal of 'do'	and/then
<i>i hitangāqā qe</i>	<i>i h-e-āt-ang-qāqā qe</i>	third singular subordinate DR of 'be' + 'contrast'	but

In (535) the speaker is the only participant and the only eligible topic in both sentences. There is a change of location at this point in the story and an accompanying change in activity. This would fit with Stirling's argument (1993:153-155) that switch-reference systems track change in any of several aspects of discourse continuity rather than just of participant roles.

- 535) ...*ɣqä päyätä qayätä qe ändukäqäqe.* *Itayga*  
*n=qä päyä=tä qayä=tä qe ä-ndu-k-qäqä=i* *i-ät-ayg-ɣga*  
 1s=POSS betel=& pepper=& CERT ASS-pick-PA/PFV-1s/DSO=IND do-IPFV-DR=TIME  
*nyi yä wiyi hyquenyqä qe äpäkäqe.*  
*nyi yä wiyi hn=qu=e-ɣqä qe ä-p-w-k-qäqä=i*  
 1s tree INDEF=M-OJ=GOAL CERT ASS-come-go-PA/PFV-1s/DSO=IND  
 '...I picked my betel nut and peppers. Then I went to a *wiyi* tree.'

The evidence in Menya, however, is that these verb forms have been reanalyzed as conjunctions and no longer function in the switch-reference system at all. In (536) *itayga* appears between two clauses in a subordinated complex that specifies the position of the sun. Though redundant, coming as it does in the midst of a chained structure, it is functioning as a conjunction comparable to the English 'and'. Though not exemplified in data from before 1990, *itayga* is now frequently being used before the last conjunct in a coordinate NP structure, as in (537). While this is a translated example rather than from a spontaneous discourse, the translator is one of three who have been trained for the task and all frequently use *itayga* in this way. Even if this use is considered to be the inappropriate influence of the English source text, the fact that all three are using it and that those hearing it accept and understand it demonstrates that what was a stative DR medial verb in form is now being used simply as a coordinating conjunction.

- 536) ...*hiunjiɣgaɣi, mäptqäqu ai ti ämäyaqätäüäqe, itayga ti*  
*hiunji=ɣga=ɣi mäptqä=qu ai ti ä-ya-mäqätäü-äqe i-ät-ayg-ɣga ti*  
 daytime=TIME=GVN sun=M done thus ASS-1D-pass-3S/DSR do-IPFV-DR=TIME thus  
*pmetaygaɣi katä qe äyämakäqe.*  
*pma-ät-ayg-ɣga=ɣi katä qe ä-ya-ma-k-qäqä=i*  
 be-IPFV-DR=TIME=GVN car CERT ASS-1D-get-PA/PFV-3S/DSO=IND  
 '...at mid-day, when the sun had passed us this much and was sitting thus, we were picked up in a car.'
- 537) *Iqu i pmetayga, Salmonä iquä itayga quyämaqä*  
*i=qu i pma-ät-ayg-ɣga Salmonä i=qu=tä i-ät-ayg-ɣga qu=ämaqä*  
 that=M thus be-IPFV-DR=TIME Simon that=M=& do-IPFV-DR=TIME 3=person  
*iquatä, Jisasi iquenyqä qäuyqä ikäkuwe.*  
*i=qu=a=tä Jisasi i=qu=e-ɣqä qäuyqä ikä-k-uwä=i*  
 that=M-PL=& Jesus that=M-OJ=GOAL search tour-PA/PFV-23P/DSO=IND  
 'He was doing that and Simon and his friends went around searching for Jesus.'

Besides the subordinating conjunctive particles *qai* 'since' and *ma* 'like' (5.4.2.4), there are also a few particles that serve to relate clauses or larger units without subordinating one to the other. Discounting

some that are more signs of hesitation and usually deleted in the editing process, these are: *ga* 'okay/so', *mä* 'and so' and *ä* 'and/or'.

The particle *ga* is presumably related to the time clitic =*nga* and is used with equal frequency between clauses (538) or inter-sententially at the beginning of sentences (539). The particle *mä* is more frequently used inter-clausally as in (529). Finally, *ä* is, like *ga*, quite common for some speakers in both places and appears to have the meaning 'and' or 'or' as in (526).

- 538) *Nyi, ndäqangi ga si yatqä äkiyqä.*  
*nyi n-t-q-ang-i ga si yatqä ä-k-i-q-ä*  
 1s 1s-say-PFV-DR-3S/ASO so 2S ask ASS-2S-do-PFV-1S/ASO  
 'He spoke to me, so I am asking you.'

- 539) *Ga tängaä di, Hipita iquei, änä mitmeqä da*  
*ga tä-nga-ä n-ti Hipita i-qu-e-qi änä ma-itma-qä da*  
 so this-TIME=GVN level=LOC Hipita that=M=OJ=GVN how NEG-lead-DVZR indeed  
*yan.*  
*i-a-n*  
 do-1P/IRR-FUT  
 'And so at this time, we are not able to bring Hipita.'

## APPENDICES

A. "ORGANIZED PHONOLOGY DATA" STATEMENT<sup>1</sup>

## Menya (Menye) Language [MCR]

## Menyama – Morobe Province

Trans New Guinea Phylum?: *Angan Stock-Level Family*

## Phonemic and Orthographic Inventory

a ɔ ʰb ʰd e ʰg h i ʰdz k m ŋ ɲ ŋ ʰq o p q tʃ t̪ u w j  
 a ɔ b,mb d,nd e g,ŋg h i j,nj k m n ny ŋ ŋq o p q s t̪ u w y  
 A Ǻ B D E G H I J K M N Ny ŋ ŋq O P Q S T U W Y

## Consonants

	Bilab	LabDen	Dental	Alveo	Postalv	Retro	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyn	Glottal
Plosive	p		t̪					k	q		
Nasal	m		ŋ				ɲ	ŋ			
Trill											
Tap/Flap											
Fricative											h
Lateral Fricative											
Approx							j				
Lateral Approx											
Ejective Stop											
Implos											

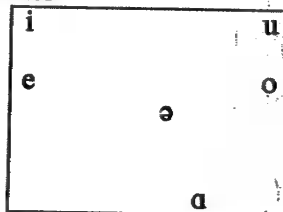
- /w/ voiced labial-velar approximant  
 /tʃ/ voiceless post-alveolar affricate  
 /ʰdz/ voiced prenasalized post-alveolar affricate  
 /ʰb/ voiced prenasalized bilabial plosive  
 /ʰd/ voiced prenasalized dental plosive  
 /ʰg/ voiced prenasalized velar plosive  
 /ʰq/ voiced prenasalized uvular plosive

<sup>1</sup> This appendix item is adapted from the collection of Organized Phonology Data statements of the PNG branch of SIL. The OPD collection is a government-requested project to have phonology and orthography data for all languages of PNG in a standard format.

p	<i>peqä</i>	'bird sp.'
	<i>apiqu</i>	'my father'
b	<i>bequ</i>	'my brother-in-law'
	<i>ombä</i>	'snake sp.'
m	<i>maṇä</i>	'mouth'
	<i>hāmaṇä</i>	'pandanus fruit'
	<i>yām</i>	'I can do'
w	<i>wikä</i>	'vein'
	<i>awiqu</i>	'my grandfather'
t	<i>tä</i>	'firewood'
	<i>atikä</i>	'earthworm'
d	<i>dä</i>	'hair'
	<i>heendäqä</i>	'bird sp.'
ṇ	<i>naqä</i>	'big'
	<i>änakuä</i>	'butterfly'
	<i>yän</i>	'he can do'
tʃ	<i>suä</i>	'ditch'
	<i>asipa</i>	'my grandmother'

<sup>n</sup> dz	<i>jänä</i>	'straight'
	<i>manjäqä</i>	'animal sp.'
ɲ	<i>nyaqä</i>	'my'
	<i>hinyañä</i>	'dust'
j	<i>yä</i>	'tree'
	<i>piyä</i>	'rain'
k	<i>kua</i>	'tree type'
	<i>hikä</i>	'stone'
<sup>h</sup> g	<i>guä</i>	'bush rope'
	<i>muṅgä</i>	'bird sp.'
ŋ	-	
	<i>maṇä</i>	'mouth'
h	<i>huäqi</i>	'yesterday'
	-	
q	<i>qua</i>	'ground'
	<i>haqä</i>	'above'
<sup>h</sup> G	<i>ṇquoyanyi</i>	'my uncle'
	<i>näṇqä</i>	'banana'

## Vowels



i	<i>ipä</i>	'buttocks'
	<i>himä</i>	'nose'
	<i>yiṇi</i>	'arrow type'
e	<i>enyqä</i>	'tired'
	<i>yemä</i>	'bird sp.'
	<i>yeiṇä</i>	'dry'
	<i>ique</i>	'him'
	<i>meaqä</i>	'plant sp.'
a	<i>amä</i>	'bird sp.'
	<i>maqä</i>	'quickly'
	<i>täṅga</i>	'today'
u	<i>undäṇä</i>	'bird sp.'
	<i>aquwqä</i>	'yam'
	<i>nequ</i>	'my father-in-law'
o	<i>ombä</i>	'snake sp.'
	<i>qokä</i>	'man, male'
	<i>yūqo</i>	'heel'

ə	<i>änakuä</i>	'butterfly'
	<i>päṇä</i>	'betel nut'
	<i>hutäqä</i>	'flower'

/ia/ /iə/ /io/ /ui/ /ue/ /ua/ /uə/

ia	<i>hiawiqä</i>	'black'
iə	<i>hiuyqä</i>	'bowstring'
	<i>qambuyä</i>	'drum'
io	<i>hiopä</i>	'tobacco'
	<i>äquyokuwa</i>	'animal trap'
ui	<i>huiwä</i>	'skin'
	<i>waquisäqä</i>	'yellow'
	<i>qui</i>	'egg'
ue	<i>hueqa</i>	'tree sp.'
	<i>ikuea</i>	'bird sp.'
ua	<i>buayä</i>	'sweet potato'
	<i>qua</i>	'ground'
uə	<i>huäqi</i>	'yesterday'
	<i>nesuäqä</i>	'spring'
	<i>maṅguä</i>	'full'



**Suprasegmentals (tone, stress, length)**

The norm is for stress to be on the ultimate or penultimate syllable. Words of more than three syllables usually have two stressed syllables with the latter being the stronger. Tone and stress are inter-dependent. Tone might be phonemic, but the functional load is low.

**Syllable Patterns**

	Isolate	Initial	Medial	Final
V	<i>a</i> 'feather'	<i>a.pā.kā</i> 'woman'	<i>qa.u.tqā</i> 'bird sp.'	<i>i.kue.a</i> 'bird sp.'
CV	<i>qa</i> 'string bag'	<i>qā.kā</i> 'cloth'	<i>a.ma.qā</i> 'man'	<i>hui.wā</i> 'skin'
CCV	<i>tqā</i> 'your'	<i>pkā.pkā</i> 'crowded'	<i>i.tqā.uā</i> 'he's working'	<i>tā.pqā</i> 'bean'
VV	<i>ai</i> 'already'	<i>ai.yga</i> 'long ago'	<i>i.ua.tā</i> 'they (f) and'	<i>i.ua</i> 'they (f)'
CVV	<i>kuā</i> 'pitpit type'	<i>hio.pā</i> 'tobacco'	<i>ya.que.qā</i> 'pig'	<i>hi.kuā</i> 'lime powder'
N	<i>ʉʉ</i> 'yes'	<i>m.bqā</i> 'money'		
CN		<i>tn.ā.yā</i> 'hot'	<i>hi.ky.ā</i> 'young man'	<i>a.tn.ā</i> 'you said'
VVV			<i>i.uau.qā</i> 'their (f)'	<i>i.uau</i> 'them (m)'
CVVV	<i>quai</i> 'the ground'	<i>i.quau.qā</i> 'their (m)'	<i>i.quau</i> 'them (m)'	
CCCV	<i>tpqā</i> 'naked'		<i>mā.ptqā</i> 'sun'	

**Conventions: Phonological**

Non-homorganic consonants are phonetically separated by extremely short vocalic segments which are more and more not being written. The quality of these short segments (and therefore the vowel sometimes written) is conditioned by vowel harmony and/or the nature of the consonants themselves.

The plosives /p t k q/ are pronounced with velic release [p<sup>m</sup> t<sup>m</sup> k<sup>o</sup> q<sup>o</sup>] before /m/ /ŋ/ /ŋ/ g/ respectively.

/q/ is pronounced with velic release [q<sup>o</sup>] before /ŋ/ and /<sup>o</sup>g/ medially and finally. It is generally [ɤ] or [ʏ] intervocally and after plosives, and [q] elsewhere.

/tʃ/ is phonetically a post-alveolar fricative word initially before /u/, and [tʃ] alternating freely with [ʃ] and [ts] elsewhere.

/h/ is phonetically a voiceless bilabial nasal [m̥] before /m/ and a voiceless uvular nasal [ŋ̥] before [q], voiceless velar nasal [ŋ̥] before /<sup>o</sup>g/ and before /ŋ/. It is pronounced voiceless labiodental approximate [ɸ] before vowel sequences beginning with /u/, and [h] elsewhere.

/e/ and /a/ are phonetically glides [ei] [ai] before CVV syllable with high front vowel /i/ in the first V slot.

/ə/ is phonetically a glide [eu] before a CVV syllable with a high back vowel [u] in the first V slot.

/t/ alternates freely with [r] and sometimes [l] intervocally.

## B. PARADIGMS

## B.1 Demonstrative pronouns: third person nominative forms

		<i>hn-</i> a/some	<i>t-</i> this	<i>ne-</i> near level	<i>ye-</i> near above	<i>me-</i> near below
M/SG	<i>-qu ~-gu</i>	<i>hyqu</i> 'a male'	<i>täqu</i> 'this male'	<i>nequ</i> 'the male just over there'	<i>yequ</i> 'the male just up there'	<i>mequ</i> 'the male just down there'
M/DL	<i>-qu -aqu</i>	<i>hyquaqu</i>	<i>täquaqu</i>	<i>nequaqu</i>	<i>yequaqu</i>	<i>mequaqu</i>
M/PL	<i>-qu -a</i>	<i>hyqua</i>	<i>täqua</i>	<i>nequa</i>	<i>yequa</i>	<i>mequa</i>
F/SG	<i>-i ~ -nyi</i>	<i>hui</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>nei</i>	<i>yei</i>	<i>mei</i>
F/DL	<i>-u -aqu</i>	<i>häuaqu</i>	<i>täuaqu</i>	<i>neuaqu</i>	<i>yeuaqu</i>	<i>meuaqu</i>
F/PL	<i>-u -a</i>	<i>häua</i>	<i>täua</i>	<i>neua</i>	<i>yeua</i>	<i>meua</i>
HON/SG	<i>-pa</i>	<i>hmba</i>	<i>täpa</i>	<i>nepa</i>	<i>yepa</i>	<i>mepa</i>
HON/DL	<i>-pe -qu</i>	<i>hmbequ</i>	<i>täpequ</i>	<i>nepequ</i>	<i>yepaqu</i>	<i>mepequ</i>
HON/PL	<i>-pe</i>	<i>hmbe</i>	<i>täpe</i>	<i>nepe</i>	<i>yepa</i>	<i>mepe</i>
DIM/SG	<i>-pu</i>	<i>hmbu</i>	<i>täpu</i>	<i>nepu</i>	<i>yepu</i>	<i>mepu</i>
DIM/DL	<i>-su -aqu</i>	<i>hnjuaqu</i>	<i>täsuaqu</i>	<i>nesuaqu</i>	<i>yesuaqu</i>	<i>mesuaqu</i>
DIM/PL	<i>-su -a</i>	<i>hnjua</i>	<i>täsua</i>	<i>nesua</i>	<i>yesua</i>	<i>mesua</i>
???	<i>-si</i>		<i>täsi</i>			

## Demonstrative pronouns (continued)

		<i>bi-</i> near below	<i>i-</i> that	<i>nä-</i> far level	<i>yä-</i> far above	<i>mä-</i> far below
M/SG	<i>-qu ~-ŋu</i>	<i>biqu</i> 'the male just down there'	<i>iqu</i> 'that male'	<i>näŋu</i> 'the male way over there'	<i>yäŋu</i> 'the male way up there'	<i>mäŋu</i> 'the male way down there'
M/DL	<i>-qu -aqu</i>	<i>biquaqu</i>	<i>iquaqu</i>	<i>näŋuaqu</i>	<i>yäŋuaqu</i>	<i>mäŋuaqu</i>
M/PL	<i>-qu -a</i>	<i>biqua</i>	<i>iqua</i>	<i>näŋua</i>	<i>yäŋua</i>	<i>mäŋua</i>
F/SG	<i>-i ~ -nyi</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>ii</i>	<i>nänyi</i>	<i>yänyi</i>	<i>mänyi</i>
F/DL	<i>-u -aqu</i>	<i>biuaqu</i>	<i>iuaqu</i>	<i>näuaqu</i>	<i>yäuaqu</i>	<i>mäuaqu</i>
F/PL	<i>-u -a</i>	<i>biua</i>	<i>iua</i>	<i>näua</i>	<i>yäua</i>	<i>mäua</i>
HON/SG	<i>-pa</i>	<i>bipa</i>	<i>ipa</i>	<i>näpa</i>	<i>yäpa</i>	<i>mäpa</i>
HON/DL	<i>-pe -qu</i>	<i>bipequ</i>	<i>ipequ</i>	<i>näpequ</i>	<i>yäpequ</i>	<i>mäpequ</i>
HON/PL	<i>-pe</i>	<i>bipe</i>	<i>ipe</i>	<i>näpe</i>	<i>yäpe</i>	<i>mäpe</i>
DIM/SG	<i>-pu</i>	<i>bipu</i>	<i>ipu</i>	<i>näpu</i>	<i>yäpu</i>	<i>mäpu</i>
DIM/DL	<i>-su -aqu</i>	<i>bisuaqu</i>	<i>isuaqu</i>	<i>näsuaqu</i>	<i>yäsuaqu</i>	<i>mäsuaqu</i>
DIM/PL	<i>-su -a</i>	<i>bisua</i>	<i>isua</i>	<i>näsua</i>	<i>yäsua</i>	<i>mäsua</i>
???	<i>-si</i>					

## B.2 Kin pronoun nominative forms

	<i>yä- -qiye</i> we two...	<i>nä- -qune</i> we all...	<i>qe- -aŋgi</i> you two...	sample relationship
<b>-quy-</b> +f; law	<i>yeqyeye</i>	<i>neqyene</i>	<i>qeyaygui</i>	man-wife
<b>-mät-</b> 1 gen; -f	<i>yämätqiye</i>	<i>nämätuqune</i>	<i>qemätaygi</i>	father-son
<b>-mb-</b> 1 gen; +f	<i>yämbaqiye</i>	<i>nämbäqune</i>	<i>qembaygi</i>	parent-child
<b>-ŋgui-</b> =; //; -f	<i>yeŋguiqiye</i>	<i>näŋguiqune</i>	<i>qeyguenŋgi</i>	brothers
<b>-nesu-</b> =; //; f	<i>yänesuäqiye</i>	<i>nänesuäqune</i>	<i>qenäsuaŋgi</i>	sisters
<b>-qut-</b> =; X; m+f	<i>yäqutäqiye</i>	<i>näqutäqune</i>	<i>qequtaygi</i>	brother-sister
<b>-wät-</b> 2 gen; -f	<i>yäwätäqiye</i>	<i>näwätäqune</i>	<i>qewätaygi</i>	grandfather- grandson
<b>-t-</b> 2 gen; +f	<i>yetäqiye</i>	<i>netäqune</i>	<i>qetaygi</i>	grandparent- grandchild
<b>-nais-</b> 1 gen; law	<i>yenaisäqiye</i>	<i>nenaisäqune</i>	<i>qenaisaygi</i>	man- wife's parents
<b>-mbät-</b> =; law	<i>yämbätäqiye</i>	<i>nämbätäqune</i>	<i>qembätaygi</i>	man- wife's brother

Key:

=	'same generation'	law	'marital rather than blood relationship'
1 gen	'1 generation apart'	+f	'at least one female included'
2 gen	'2 generations apart'	-f	'males only included'
//	'siblings or parallel cousins'	f	'females only included'
X	'cross-cousins'		

Kin pronouns (continued)				
	<i>hi- -quen</i> you all...	<i>i- -aqi</i> they two...	<i>i- -qua</i> they all...	sample relationship
<b>-quy-</b> +f; law	<i>hiquyen</i>	<i>iyaqu?</i>	<i>iquya</i>	man-wife
<b>-mät-</b> 1 gen; -f	<i>himätuquen</i>	<i>imätaqi</i>	<i>imätuqua</i>	father-son
<b>-mb-</b> 1 gen; +f	<i>himbuquen</i>	<i>imbaqi</i>	<i>imbuqua</i>	parent-child
<b>-ngui-</b> =; //; -f	<i>hinguiquen</i>	<i>iygueqi</i>	<i>iyguiqua</i>	brothers
<b>-nesu-</b> =; //; f	<i>hinäsüäquen</i>	<i>inäsuäqi</i>	<i>inäsuäqa</i>	sisters
<b>-qut-</b> =; X; m+f	<i>hiqutuquen</i>	<i>iqutaqi</i>	<i>iqutuqua</i>	brother-sister
<b>-wät-</b> 2 gen; -f	<i>hiwätuquen</i>	<i>iwätaqi</i>	<i>iwätuqua</i>	grandfather- grandson
<b>-t-</b> 2 gen; +f	<i>hituquen</i>	<i>itaqi</i>	<i>ituqua</i>	grandparent- grandchild
<b>-nais-</b> 1 gen; law	<i>hinaisuquen</i>	<i>inaisaqi</i>	<i>inaisuqua</i>	man- wife's parents
<b>-mbät-</b> =; law	<i>himbätuquen</i>	<i>imbätaqi</i>	<i>imbätuqua</i>	man- wife's brother

Key:

=	'same generation'	law	'marital rather than blood relationship'
1 gen	'1 generation apart'	+f	'at least one female included'
2 gen	'2 generations apart'	-f	'males only included'
//	'siblings or parallel cousins'	f	'females only included'
X	'cross-cousins'		

### B.3 Kin nouns

Kinship nouns (Note: except for the 'addressee' forms, these are all 3rd person referents; 'we your fathers', 'you our fathers' etc are omitted)

	address ...-e	1's singular (n)...- <i>{iqu}</i>	1's pl (n)i{-uka}	2S's sg t-...- <i>{iqu}</i>	2S's pl t-...- <i>{uka}</i>
meaning with 'father'	father	my/our father	my fathers	your father	your fathers
father (& his brother) ap- ~ -n-	ape	apiqu	apikukua apukua	tniqu	tnuqua
grandfather/son; female's father-in-law -aw-	awe	awiqu	awikukua awäka	tawiqu	tawäka
grandmother/daughter at- ~ -a-	ate	asipa	asipaqä atäqä	tai	taqä
mother (& her sister) -na-	nae~naye	nipa	nipaqä	tnai	tnaqä
uncle (maternal) -am-	ame	amiqu	amikukua	tamiqu	tamikukua
uncle (father's sister's husband) guoyanyi		guoyanyi		tunguoyanyi	
aunt (father's sister) -awi- ~ -i-	auye	awipa	awipaqä	sei	säwaqä
older brother tat-/te-	tasipa tate	tasipequ	tatäqa	tätequ	tätaqä
younger brother -yguä-	guäe	guequ	guäka	tuyguequ	tuyguäka
cousin (male, cross) -täyguä-	näyguäe	näyguequ	näyguka	täyguequ	täyguka
older sister -nan-	nane	nanyipa	nanyipaqä	tnanyi	tnanyqä
younger sister -nap-	nasue	napi	napäqa	tnapi	tnapäqa
cousin (female, cross) -yämaq	nyämaqiye	nyämaqi	nyämaqiya	sämaqi	sämaqiya
father/son-in-law -ne-	neme nequ	nequ	nequa	tnequ	tnequa
mans' brother-in-law -be-	bee	bequ	bäka	tämbequ	tämbäka
sister-in-law -sauq-	nyauqiye	nyauqi	nyauqiya	sauqi	sauqiya
female's brother-in-law -sauq-		nyauqu			
female's brother or male cousin -siq-		nyiqu	nyiquka	siqu	siquka
male's sister or female cousin -siq-		nyiqi	nyiqiya	siqi	siqiya
all one's generation -siq-		nyiqä		siqä	

## Kin nouns (continued)

	2D's sing <i>qe-...-{iqu}</i>	2D's plural <i>qe-...-{uka}</i>	2P's sing <i>he-...-{iqu}</i>	2P's pl <i>he-...{uka}</i>	3's sing <i>k-...-{iqu}</i>	3's plural <i>k-...-{uka}</i>
sample meaning:	your father	your fathers	your father	your fathers	her/his/their father	her/his/their fathers
father (& his brother) <i>ap-/n-</i>	<i>qeniqu</i>	<i>qenuḡua</i>	<i>hiniqu</i>	<i>hunuḡua</i>	<i>kaniqu</i>	<i>kanuḡua</i>
grandfather/son; female's father-in-law <i>-aw-</i>					<i>kawiqu</i>	<i>kawiqukua</i>
granddaughter /mother <i>at-~a-</i>					<i>kai</i>	<i>kaqä</i>
mother (& her sister) <i>-na-</i>	<i>qenai</i>	<i>qenaqä</i>	<i>hinai</i>	<i>hinaqä</i>	<i>känai</i>	<i>känaqä</i>
uncle (maternal) <i>-am-</i>					<i>kamiqu</i>	<i>kamiqukua</i>
uncle (father's sister's husband) <i>guoyanyi</i>					<i>kiḡuoyanyi</i>	
aunt (father's sister) <i>awi-/i-</i>					<i>kii</i>	<i>kiwaqä</i>
older brother <i>tat-/te-</i>	<i>qetequ</i>	<i>qetaqä</i>	<i>hitequ</i>	<i>hitaqä</i>	<i>kätequ</i>	<i>kätaqä</i>
younger brother <i>-ḡgua-</i>	<i>qeyḡuequ</i>	<i>qeyḡuäka</i>	<i>hiḡuequ</i>	<i>hiḡuäka</i>	<i>käḡuequ</i>	<i>käḡuäka</i>
cousin (male, cross) <i>-täḡgua-</i>					<i>kätäḡuequ</i>	<i>kätäḡuka</i>
older sister <i>-nan-</i>	<i>qenanyi</i>	<i>qenanyäqä</i>	<i>hinanyi</i>	<i>hinanyäqä</i>	<i>känanyi</i>	<i>känanyäqä</i>
younger sister <i>-nap-</i>	<i>qenapi</i>	<i>qenapäqa</i>	<i>hinapi</i>	<i>hinapäqa</i>	<i>känapi</i>	<i>känapäqa</i>
cousin (female, cross) <i>-yämaq-</i>	<i>qeyämaqi</i>	<i>qeyämaqiya</i>	<i>hiyämaqi</i>	<i>hiyämaqiya</i>	<i>käyämaqi</i>	<i>käyämaqiya</i>
father/son-in-law <i>-ne-</i>	<i>qenequ</i>	<i>qeneḡua</i>	<i>hinequ</i>	<i>hineḡua</i>	<i>känequ</i>	<i>käneḡua</i>
mans' brother-in-law <i>-be-</i>	<i>qembequ</i>	<i>qembäka</i>	<i>himbequ</i>	<i>himbäka</i>	<i>kambequ</i>	<i>kambäka</i>
sister-in-law <i>-sauq-</i>	<i>qesauqi</i>	<i>qesauqiya</i>	<i>hisauqi</i>	<i>hisauqiya</i>	<i>kasauqi</i>	<i>kasauqiya</i>
female's brother-in-law <i>-sauq-</i>						
female's brother or male cousin <i>-siq-</i>	<i>qesiqu</i>	<i>qesiquka</i>	<i>hisiqu</i>	<i>hisiquka</i>	<i>kasiqu</i>	<i>kasiquka</i>
male's sister or fem. cousin <i>-siq-</i>	<i>qesiqi</i>	<i>qesiqiya</i>	<i>hisiqi</i>	<i>hisiqiya</i>	<i>kasiqi</i>	<i>kasiqiya</i>
all one's generation <i>-siq-</i>	<i>qesiqä</i>		<i>hisiqä</i>		<i>kasiqä</i>	

## B.4 Verb paradigms

### B.4.1 Realis final paradigms for *ma* 'get/have' and *t* 'say' (4.2.2)

	Present Perfective e.g. I am getting/saying, I just got/said		Present Stative e.g. I have		Present Progressive e.g. I am now getting/speaking	
1S	<i>ä'meqä</i>	<i>ä'tqä</i>	<i>ä'meqä</i>	---	<i>ä'metqäqä</i>	<i>ätä'tqäqä</i>
2S	<i>ä'men</i>	<i>ä'tn</i>	<i>ä'meqn</i>	---	<i>ä'metqäqn</i>	<i>ätä'tqäqn</i>
3S	<i>ä'meqi</i>	<i>ä'tqi</i>	<i>ä'me</i>	---	<i>ä'metqä</i>	<i>ätä'tqä</i>
1D	<i>ä'meque</i>	<i>ä'tque</i>	<i>ä'meque</i>	---	<i>ä'metqäque</i>	<i>ätä'tqäque</i>
23D	<i>ä'meqinyä</i>	<i>ä'tqinyä</i>	<i>ä'meqinyä</i>	---	<i>ä'metqäqinyä</i>	<i>ätä'tqäqinyä</i>
1P	<i>ä'mequ</i>	<i>ä'tqu</i>	<i>ä'mequ</i>	---	<i>ä'metqäqu</i>	<i>ätä'tqäqu</i>
23P	<i>ä'meqä</i>	<i>ä'tqä</i>	<i>ä'meqä</i>	---	<i>ä'metqäqä</i>	<i>ätä'tqäqä</i>

	Near Past Perfective e.g. I recently got/said		Near Past Stative e.g. I recently had		Near Past Progressive e.g. I was getting, I habitually get/say	
1S	<i>äme'qe</i>	<i>ä'tqe</i>	<i>äme'qge</i>	---	<i>äme'täqge</i>	<i>ätä'täqge</i>
2S	<i>äme'qi</i>	<i>ätq'i</i>	<i>äme'qi</i>	---	<i>äme'tqäqi</i>	<i>ätä'tqäqi</i>
3S	<i>äme'qe</i>	<i>ä'tqe</i>	<i>äme'qge</i>	---	<i>äme'täqge</i>	<i>ätä'täqge</i>
1D	<i>ämeque'e</i>	<i>ätque'e</i>	<i>ämeque'e</i>	---	<i>äme'tqäquee</i>	<i>ätä'tqäquee</i>
23D	<i>ämeqi'yi</i>	<i>ätqi'yi</i>	<i>ämeqi'yi</i>	---	<i>äme'tqäqi'yi</i>	<i>ätä'tqäqi'yi</i>
1P	<i>äme'que</i>	<i>ä'tque</i>	<i>äme'qque</i>	---	<i>äme'täqque</i>	<i>ätä'täqque</i>
23P	<i>ämequ'wi</i>	<i>ätqu'wi</i>	<i>ämequ'wi</i>	---	<i>äme'tqäquwi</i>	<i>ätä'tqäquwi</i>

	Past Perfective e.g. I got/said		Remote Past Perfective e.g. I got/said long ago		(Remote-)Past Imperfective e.g. I had, I used to get/say	
1S	<i>ä'makäqe</i>	<i>ä'tkäqe</i>	<i>ä'meqqe</i>	<i>ä'täqge</i>	<i>äma'miqqe</i>	<i>ät'miqqe</i>
2S	<i>ä'makqi</i>	<i>ä'tkqi</i>	<i>ä'meqi</i>	<i>ä'täqi</i>	<i>äma'miqi</i>	<i>ät'miqi</i>
3S	<i>ä'makäqe</i>	<i>ä'tkäqe</i>	<i>ä'meqqe</i>	<i>ä'täqge</i>	<i>äma'miqqe</i>	<i>ät'miqqe</i>
1D	<i>ä'makuee</i>	<i>ä'tkuee</i>	<i>ä'meqquee</i>	<i>ä'täqquee</i>	<i>äma'miquee</i>	<i>ät'miquee</i>
23D	<i>ä'makiyi</i>	<i>ä'tkiyi</i>	<i>ä'meqiyi</i>	<i>ä'täqiyi</i>	<i>äma'miqiyi</i>	<i>ät'miqiyi</i>
1P	<i>ä'makäque</i>	<i>ä'tkäque</i>	<i>ä'meqque</i>	<i>ä'täqque</i>	<i>äma'miqque</i>	<i>ät'miqque</i>
23P	<i>ä'makuwi</i>	<i>ä'tkuwi</i>	<i>ä'mequwi</i>	<i>ä'täquwi</i>	<i>äma'miquwi</i>	<i>ät'miquwi</i>



### B.4.2 Irrealis final paradigms for *ma* 'get/have' and *t* 'say' (4.2.3)

	Hortative e.g. get! speak!		Abilitative e.g. I can/do get/say		Intentive e.g. I'm going to get/say	
1S	<i>ä'mam</i>	<i>ä'tm</i>	<i>'mam</i>	<i>tm</i>	<i>mamqä</i>	<i>tmqä</i>
2S	<i>'ma</i>	<i>'ti</i>	<i>'matn</i>	<i>tn</i>	<i>matqä</i>	<i>ttqä</i>
3S	<i>ä'me</i>	<i>ä'tä</i>	<i>'men</i>	<i>tän</i>	<i>metqä</i>	<i>tätqä</i>
1D	<i>ä'me</i>	<i>ä'ta</i>	<i>'men</i>	<i>teny</i>	<i>mejqä</i>	<i>tejqä</i>
23D	<i>(ä)'manyä</i>	<i>(ä)'sinyä</i>	<i>'manyä</i>	<i>siny</i>	<i>mayäjqä</i>	<i>siyäjqä</i>
1P	<i>ä'men</i>	<i>ä'tan</i>	<i>'men</i>	<i>tan</i>	<i>matuqqä</i>	<i>tatuqqä</i>
23P	<i>(ä)'mapu</i>	<i>(ä)'täpu</i>	<i>'mapu</i>	<i>tpn</i>	<i>mapqqä</i>	<i>tpqqä</i>

	Obligative e.g. I must get/say		Future e.g. I will get/say		Future Intent e.g. I will get/say	
1S	<i>mamqä</i>	<i>tmqä</i>	<i>mamäniqe</i>	<i>tmäniqe</i>	<i>mamäniqqe</i>	<i>tmäniqqe</i>
2S	<i>matqqn</i>	<i>ttqqn</i>	<i>matäqi</i>	<i>ttqi</i>	<i>matäqqe</i>	<i>ttäqqe</i>
3S	<i>meqqi</i>	<i>täqqi</i>	<i>meniye</i>	<i>täniye</i>	<i>meniyye</i>	<i>täniyye</i>
1D	<i>meqqe</i>	<i>teqqe</i>	<i>menyuee</i>	<i>tenyuee</i>	<i>menyueqqe</i>	<i>tenyueqqe</i>
23D	<i>mayäqqiny</i>	<i>siyäqqiny</i>	<i>manyiyi</i>	<i>sinyiyi</i>	<i>manyiyäqqe</i>	<i>sinyiyäqqe</i>
1P	<i>meqqu</i>	<i>tatuqqu</i>	<i>menique</i>	<i>tanique</i>	<i>meniyye</i>	<i>taniyye</i>
23P	<i>mapqqä</i>	<i>tpqqä</i>	<i>mapnuwi</i>	<i>tpnuwi</i>	<i>mapnuwäqqe</i>	<i>tpnuwäqqe</i>

	Contrary to fact e.g. I would have got/said		Frustrative e.g. I was intending to get/say		Frustrative (near past pfv.) e.g. I intended to get/say	
1S	<i>meqäminji</i>	<i>tqäminji</i>	<i>mamätmnji</i>	<i>tmätmnji</i>	<i>mamätm iqe</i>	<i>tmätm iqe</i>
2S	<i>meqätminji</i>	<i>tqätminji</i>	<i>mamätnji</i>	<i>tmätnji</i>	<i>mamätm iqi</i>	<i>tmätm iqi</i>
3S	<i>meqoninji</i>	<i>tqoninji</i>	<i>mamätänji</i>	<i>tmätänji</i>	<i>mamätä iqe</i>	<i>tmätä iqe</i>
1D	<i>mequenyinji</i>	<i>tquenyinji</i>	<i>menyätenji</i>	<i>tenyätenji</i>	<i>menyäte iquee</i>	<i>tenyäte iquee</i>
23D	<i>meqinyinji</i>	<i>tqinyinji</i>	<i>manyäsinji</i>	<i>tenyäsinji</i>	<i>menyäsiny iqi</i>	<i>tenyäsiny iqi</i>
1P	<i>mequaninji</i>	<i>tquaninji</i>	<i>manätanji</i>	<i>tanätanji</i>	<i>manätan iqe</i>	<i>tanätan iqe</i>
23P	<i>meqäpninji</i>	<i>tqäpninji</i>	<i>manätpinji</i>	<i>tanätpinji</i>	<i>manätpu iquwi</i>	<i>tanätpu iquwi</i>

### B.4.3 Different-referent medial paradigms for *ma* 'get/have' and *t* 'say' (4.2.4.1 and 4.2.4.2)

	Coordinate perfective e.g. I get/say & another...		Coordinate stative e.g. I have & another...		Coordinate progressive e.g. I getting/saying & another...	
1S	<i>meqaygä</i>	<i>tqaygä</i>	<i>metaygä</i>	---	<i>metqätaygä</i>	<i>tätqätaygä</i>
2S	<i>meqaygn</i>	<i>tqaygn</i>	<i>metaygn</i>	---	<i>metqätaygn</i>	<i>tätqätaygn</i>
3S	<i>meqaygi</i>	<i>tqaygi</i>	<i>metaygi</i>	---	<i>metqätaygi</i>	<i>tätqätaygi</i>
1D	<i>meqaygue</i>	<i>tqaygue</i>	<i>metaygue</i>	---	<i>metqätaygue</i>	<i>tätqätaygue</i>
23D	<i>meqayginy</i>	<i>tqayginy</i>	<i>metayginy</i>	---	<i>metqätayginy</i>	<i>tätqätayginy</i>
1P	<i>meqaygu</i>	<i>tqaygu</i>	<i>metaygu</i>	---	<i>metqätaygu</i>	<i>tätqätaygu</i>
23P	<i>meqaygä</i>	<i>tqaygä</i>	<i>metaygä</i>	---	<i>metqätaygä</i>	<i>tätqätaygä</i>

	Subordinate (temp) perfective e.g. after I get/say, another...		Subordinate (temp) stative e.g. while I have, another...	
1S	<i>meqaygäqäyga</i>	<i>tqaygäqäyga</i>	<i>metaygäqäyga</i>	---
2S	<i>meqaygyäyga</i>	<i>tqaygyäyga</i>	<i>metaygyäyga</i>	---
3S	<i>meqaygäqäyga</i>	<i>tqaygäqäyga</i>	<i>metaygäqäyga</i>	---
1D	<i>meqaygueäyga</i>	<i>tqaygueäyga</i>	<i>metaygueäyga</i>	---
23D	<i>meqaygiyäyga</i>	<i>tqaygiyäyga</i>	<i>metaygiyäyga</i>	---
1P	<i>meqaygäquygua</i>	<i>tqaygäquygua</i>	<i>metaygäquygua</i>	---
23P	<i>meqayguwäyga</i>	<i>tqayguwäyga</i>	<i>metayguwäyga</i>	---

	Subordinate (temp) imperfective e.g. while I was getting/saying, another...	
1S	<i>metqätaygäqäyga</i>	<i>tätqätaygäqäyga</i>
2S	<i>metqätaygyäyga</i>	<i>tätqätaygyäyga</i>
3S	<i>metqätaygäqäyga</i>	<i>tätqätaygäqäyga</i>
1D	<i>metqätaygueäyga</i>	<i>tätqätaygueäyga</i>
23D	<i>metqätaygiyäyga</i>	<i>tätqätaygiyäyga</i>
1P	<i>metqätaygäquygua</i>	<i>tätqätaygäquygua</i>
23P	<i>metqätaygä</i>	<i>tätqätayguwäyga</i>

	Generic (temporal) perfective e.g. whenever I get/say, another...		Dubitative perfective e.g. supposing I get/say, another...	
1S	<i>meqaygmdqäŋga</i>	<i>tqaygmdqäŋga</i>	<i>meqaygmdi</i>	<i>tqaygmdi</i>
2S	<i>meqäŋgätqäŋga</i>	<i>tqäŋgätqäŋga</i>	<i>meqaygäti</i>	<i>tqaygäti</i>
3S	<i>meqaygutqäŋga</i>	<i>tqaygutqäŋga</i>	<i>meqayguti</i>	<i>tqayguti</i>
1D	<i>meqayguesqäŋga</i>	<i>tqayguesqäŋga</i>	<i>meqayguesi</i>	<i>tqayguesi</i>
23D	<i>meqaygisqäŋga</i>	<i>tqaygisqäŋga</i>	<i>meqaygisi</i>	<i>tqaygisi</i>
1P	<i>meqayguatqäŋga</i>	<i>tqayguatqäŋga</i>	<i>meqayguati</i> <i>meqayguandi</i>	<i>tqayguati</i> <i>tqayguandi</i>
23P	<i>meqaygäpqäŋga</i>	<i>tqaygäpqäŋga</i>	<i>meqaygäpi</i>	<i>tqaygäpi</i>

#### B.4.4 Same-referent medial paradigms for *ma* 'get/have' and *t* 'say'

(4.2.4.3 and 4.2.4.4)

	Dependent e.g. I get/say then ...		Coordinate e.g. I get/say & ...		Coordinate simultaneous e.g. I getting/saying ...	
1S	<i>ämami</i>	<i>ätmi</i>	<i>ämetm</i>	<i>ätätm</i>	<i>ämam</i>	<i>ätm</i>
2S	<i>ämaŋi</i>	<i>ätŋi</i>	<i>ämetn</i>	<i>ätätn</i>	<i>äman</i>	<i>ätn</i>
3S	<i>ämeqe</i>	<i>ätäqe</i>	<i>ämetä</i>	<i>ätätä</i>	<i>äme</i>	<i>ätä</i>
1D	<i>ämeyi</i>	<i>ätayi</i>	<i>ämeta</i>	<i>ätäta</i>	<i>äme</i>	<i>äta</i>
23D	<i>ämayi</i>	<i>äsiyi</i>	<i>ämesin</i>	<i>ätäsin</i>	<i>ämany</i>	<i>äsin</i>
1P	<i>ämeni</i>	<i>ätani</i>	<i>ämetan</i>	<i>ätätan</i>	<i>ämen</i>	<i>ätan</i>
23P	<i>ämapiyi</i>	<i>ätpiyi</i>	<i>ämepu</i>	<i>ätäpu</i>	<i>ämapu</i>	<i>ätpu</i>

	SR fourth		SR generic temporal e.g. whenever I get/say, ...	
1S	<i>ämetmi</i>	<i>ätätmi</i>	<i>ämamqe</i>	<i>ätmqe</i>
2S	<i>ämetŋi</i>	<i>ätätŋi</i>	<i>ämatqe</i>	<i>ättqe</i>
3S	<i>ämetäqe</i>	<i>ätätäqe</i>	<i>ämetqe</i>	<i>ätätqe</i>
1D	<i>ämetayi</i>	<i>ätätayi</i>	<i>ämeqe</i>	<i>äteqe</i>
23D	<i>ämesi</i>	<i>ätäsi</i>	<i>ämayqe</i>	<i>äsiyqe</i>
1P	<i>ämetani</i>	<i>ätätani</i>	<i>ämeqe ~ ämetuqe</i>	<i>ätaqe ~ ätatuqe</i>
23P	<i>ämepiyi</i>	<i>ätäpiyi</i>	<i>ämapqe</i>	<i>ätäpqe</i>

## C. SAMPLE TEXTS

The following texts were prepared using the LinguaLinks Workshops Version 4.0r produced by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The fourth line of the interlinear indicates the word class and verb form classification of each word. Some of the abbreviations used are unique to this section of the paper and are therefore listed below. Lower and upper case abbreviations represent monomorphemic and polymorphemic words respectively. A few morphemes are glossed differently here than in the body of the paper.

adj	adjective	V_ABIL	abilitative final
adv ~ ADV	adverb	V_DR/CO	coordinate DR medial
advprt	adverbial particle	V_DR/DUBIT	dubitative DR medial
CNJ	conjunction	V_DR/SUB	subordinate DR medial
cnjprt	conjunctive particle	V_FUT/INT	future intensive final
DEM	demonstrative	V_HORT	hortative final
KIN	kin term	V_INT	intensive final
loc ~ LOC	locative	V_NEG	negative verb
n ~ N	noun	V_NP/PFV	near past perfective final
negprt	negative particle	V_NP/PRGV	near past progressive final
pro ~ PRO	pronoun	V_PA/IPFV	past imperfective final
prop	proper name	V_PA/PFV	past perfective final
TEMP	temporal	V_PR/DUBIT	present dubitative final
vn	verbal noun	V_PR/PFV	present perfective final
		V_PR/PRGV	present progressive final
		V_SER	serial
		V_SR/CO	coordinate SR medial
		V_SR/DEP	dependent SR medial
		V_SR/GEN	generic SR medial
		V_SR/SIM	simultaneous SR medial
		V_SR/SUB	subordinate SR medial

## C.1 Hunting expedition

Written by John Manggô (approximately 35 years old) in 1996; subsequently edited by the writer several times (extensively in Aug 1999) to produce this version.

### Hunting 1

*Iygaŋi māpāqā tiwā naqānāŋā hŋqu qe*  
*i =ŋga =ŋi māptqā tiwā naqā =nāŋā hn =qu qe*  
 that TIME GVN sun hot.dry big very INDEF M CERT  
 CNJ n n MOD PRO advprt

*ätimäukäqe.*

*ä- timäu -k -qāqā =i*  
 ASS arrive PA/PFV 3S/DSO IND  
 V\_PA/PFV

FT: At this time there was a very big dry season.

### Hunting 2

*E hitaŋgi ne hikŋä ymeqä aŋä iqisaŋi*  
*e h- e -ät -aŋg-i ne hikŋä ymeqä aŋä i =qi =ta =ŋi*  
 thus NEU be IPFV DR 3S/ASO 1P lad child village that LOC ORIG LOC  
 adv V\_DR/CO pro n n n DEM

*eeqāpānā ätimäuaqe, hikŋä hŋqueä aŋä*  
*eeqā =pu =nā ä- timäu -aqe hikŋä hn =qu =e =uä aŋä*  
 all DIM FCS ASS arrive 1P/DSR lad INDEF M OJ POSS house  
 MOD V\_SR/DEP n PRO n

*iqi äpmen quea ätātan, päŋä äsātan,*  
*i =qi ä- pma -an quea ä- t -ät -an päŋä ä- s -ät -an*  
 that LOC ASS be 1P/CSR talk ASS say SR 1P/CSR betel ASS chew SR 1P/CSR  
 LOC V\_SR/SIM vn V\_SR/CO n V\_SR/CO

*hiopä itan, häŋä tamqä ätātan, tä*  
*hiopä i -ät -an häŋä tamqä ä- t -ät -an tä*  
 tobacco do SR 1P/CSR play joke ASS say SR 1P/CSR teeth  
 n V\_SR/CO vn vn V\_SR/CO vn

*säuwäqä qe iqāmanmiŋque.*  
*s w -qä qe i qāma -miŋ -qäqu =i*  
 smile go DVZR CERT do be PA/IPFV 1P/DSO IND  
 N advprt V\_PA/IPFV

FT: All of us youth from the village arrived and were sitting at a young man's house, talking, chewing betel nut, smoking, joking, and laughing.

### Hunting 3

*I äpmenitaŋi nyi hiŋga ämäuyaumi*  
*i ä- pma -ani =ta =ŋi nyi hn =ŋga ä- mä uyau -mi*  
 that ASS stay 1P/DSR SRC LOC 1S INDEF TIME ASS ?? arise 1S/DSR  
 pro V\_SR/SUB pro TEMP V\_SR/DEP

*huiyiquaui,* "nyi kukɣuä hɣqu *tmqä* *iqäqä*  
*huiyi* =qu =a =u =ɣi nyi kukɣuä hn =qu t -m =ɣqä i -q -qäqä  
 other M PL OJ GVN 1S talk INDEF M say 1S/IRR GOAL do PFV 1S/DSO  
 PRO pro n PRO V\_INT V\_NP/PFV

*qai he eeqänä qätä nyipiyä* *ätukäqe.*  
*qai he eeqä =nä qätä n- i -i -p =yä ä- w- t -k -qäqä =i*  
 since 2P all FCS ear 1S do BEN 23P/IRR QT ASS 3 tell PA/PFV 1S/DSO IND  
 cnjprt pro MOD n V\_HORT V\_PA/PFV

FT: While we were sitting there, I got up after a while and said this: "As I have something to say, you all listen to me."

## Hunting 4

*Iyi iqua qätä pänätanguwänga* *nyi*  
*i* =ɣi i =qu =a qätä pän -ät -aɣg -uwä =ɣga nyi  
 that GVN that M PL ear listen IPFV DR 23P/DSO TIME 1S  
 PRO PRO n V\_DR/SUB pro

*iquaui,* "tiwä naqänäyä *iqäqä* *qai, qäuqä yätu*  
*i* =qu =a =u =ɣi tiwä naqä =näyä i -q -qäqä *qai qäuqä yä =tu*  
 that M PL OJ GVN hot.dry big very do PFV 3S/DSO since forest up LOC  
 PRO n MOD V\_NP/PFV cnjprt n LOC

*hiqaqä wen asaukiyä mätätan* *ɣɣäyqä ätäuqäma*  
*hiqaqä wä -an asäkuüyä mät -ät -an* *ɣɣä =ɣqä ä- täuqäma -ka*  
 sleep lie 1P/CSR blind build SR 1P/CSR bird to ASS watch SER/DUR  
 vn V\_SR/SIM n V\_SR/CO N V\_SER

*paniquqä* *äyanä,* *ätukäqe.*  
*p -a -ni -qäqu =ɣqä ä- y -an ä- w- t -k -qäqä =i*  
 come 1P/IRR FUT 1P/DSO GOAL ASS go.up 1P/IRR ASS 3 tell PA/PFV 1S/DSO IND  
 V\_FUT/INT V\_HORT V\_PA/PFV

FT: When they were listening, I said this to them, "As it is such a big dry season, let's go up in order to come back having built blinds and watch-hunted for birds while sleeping in the bush."

## Hunting 5

*Nyi e tuqanga,* *qu kimaɣi* "Si e  
*nyi e w- t -q -aɣg =ɣga qu kima =ɣi si e*  
 1S thus 3 tell PFV DR TIME 3P answer GVN 2S thus  
 pro adv V\_DR/SUB pro vn pro adv

*änatɣi,* *i ängui.* *Iɣä qe awiɣga*  
*ä- na- t -q -ɣä =i i äɣguä =i i =ɣi qe awä =i =ɣga*  
 ASS 1P tell PFV 2S/DSO DEF that good DEF that GVN but middle DEF TIME  
 V\_NP/PFV pro MOD CNJ cnjprt TEMP

*yähiqitänä yuquaqä,* *ändkuwi.*  
*yähiqitä =nä y -q -a =ɣqä ä- n- t -k -uwä =i*  
 morning FCS go.up PFV 1P/IRR GOAL ASS 1S tell PA/PFV 23P/DSO IND  
 N V\_INT V\_PA/PFV

FT: Having said this, they in response said to me, "What you've said to us is good. But tomorrow morning we can go up."

## Hunting 6

*E ätnaqetapi*  
 e ä- t -n -aqe =ta =yi hn =qu =nä hn =qu =nä  
 thus ASS tell DETR IP/DSR SRC GVN INDEF M FCS INDEF M FCS  
 adv V\_SR/SUB PRO PRO

*iuyatuwänmäji*  
 iuyatuw -n -mä =yi ne =qä ayä i =u =yqä qe  
 get up DETR SER/SEM GVN IP POSS house that LOC to CERT  
 V\_SER PRO n LOC advprt

*äuwekuqe,*  
 ä- we -k -qäqu =i awä =i =yga qäquqä yä =tu =yqä  
 ASS disperse PA/PFV IP/DSO IND middle DEF TIME forest up LOC to  
 V\_PA/PFV TEMP n LOC

*yaniuyqä*  
 y -a -ni =yqä =ti =yqä nätmatqä näwenyā imäkatuyqä.  
 go.up IP/IRR FUT to level there to something prepare FCS make IP/IRR GOAL  
 V\_FUT/INT PRO n vn V\_INT

FT: After we discussed this, we each got up to disperse to our own homes in order to prepare something for going up to the bush tomorrow.

## Hunting 7

*Suqä tinji, "hiqäuyqätä, iwomäyqätä, yyyäyqätä tuaqä*  
 suqä ti =nji hiqäuyqä =yqä =tä iwomä =yqä =tä yyyä =yqä =tä tuaqä  
 custom this IND possum.sp to and lizard.sp GOAL and bird GOAL and hunt  
 n PRO N N N

*äwätan,*  
 ä- w -ät -an asäkuiyätä, qäpakätä täuqämetuyqä  
 ASS go SR IP/CSR blind and noose and watch -atu =yqä  
 V\_SR/CO N N V\_INT to

*watuyqängayi,*  
 w -atu =yqä =yga =yi yuquakä hiuyqä änyä häyā iuqumatan,  
 go IP/IRR GOAL TIME GVN bow bowstring new new do 3 be CAUS IP/CSR  
 V\_INT n n MOD mod V\_SR/CO

*yi änyä häyā hui*  
 yi änyä häyā hn =i maqätan, yiyi äuyasäyqe  
 arrow new new INDEF F get.hold IP/CSR bird.arrow ASS split DETR DVZR DEF  
 n MOD mod PRO V\_SR/CO n MOD

*änyä häyā äutäyäptäqumatan.*  
 änyä häyā ä- utäyäptä w- qäma -te -a -ni  
 new new ASS make 3 be CAUS IP/IRR FUT  
 MOD mod V\_ABIL

FT: The custom is this, when we're going to go and hunt (during the day) possums, lizards, and birds and watch for capfuls (at night), we make new ropes and string them on our bows, and sharpen (make) new arrows and hold them and make and install new forked arrows.

## Hunting 8

*Itayga*  
*i* -ät -ayg =yga *nätmatqä* *eeqäpänä* *äyguänä* *äyä*  
 do IPFV DR TIME *nätmatqä* *eeqä* =pu =nä *äyguä* =nä *äyä*  
 V\_DR/SUB something all DIM FCS good FCS just  
 n MOD

*hetaygayi* *qayä watuyqä.*  
*h-* *e* -ät -ayg =yga =yi *qayä w -atu* =yqä  
 NEU be IPFV DR TIME GVN walk go IP/IRR GOAL  
 V\_DR/SUB vn V\_INT

FT: When all there things are well (=ready), then we can go.

## Hunting 9

*Itayga*  
*i* -ät -ayg =yga *ne e imäkanitayi* *hiaqäqä*  
 do IPFV DR TIME IP thus make IP/DSR =ta =yi *hiaqäqä*  
 CNJ pro adv V\_SR/SUB SRC GVN sleep  
 vn

*äuwäkuqe,* *awiyya* *yiähiqutäyi* *buayä änaqe,*  
*ä- wä -k -qäqu =i awä =i =yga yähiqutä =yi buayä ä- n -aqe*  
 ASS lie PA/PFV IP/DSO DEF middle DEF TIME morning GVN food ASS eat IP/DSR  
 V\_PA/PFV TEMP N n V\_SR/DEP

*buayä häyä hiopä hiopä yäquwqä hikuä qa ämaunyaqe*  
*buayä häyä hiopä hiopä yäquwqä hikuä qa ä- ma mi -aqe*  
 sweet.potato new tobacco tobacco tree.leaf lime bag ASS get put.in IP/DSR  
 n mod n n n n n V\_SR/DEP

*qäquä yätuyqä* *qayä qe eikuqe.*  
*qäquä yä =tu =yqä qayä qe ä- y -k -qäqu =i*  
 forest up LOC to walk CERT ASS go.up PA/PFV IP/DSO IND  
 n LOC vn advprt V\_PA/PFV

FT: Having done that and slept, the next morning we ate and filled our string bags with new sweet potato, tobacco, smoke paper, and lime and walked up to the bush.

## Hunting 10

*Äyani* *qäquä yäum* *ätimäuaqe,* *ayä*  
*ä- y -ani qäquä yä =u =m ä- timäu -aqe ayä*  
 ASS go.up IP/DSR forest up LOC unseen ASS arrive IP/DSR house  
 V\_SR/DEP n LOC V\_SR/DEP n

*mätinätagi* *äqunmiyquä* *iqinyäqä* *hiuyä*  
*mät -n -ät -ayg =i ä- w- q -n -miy -qäqu i =qi =yqä hiuyä*  
 build DETR IPFV DR IND ASS 3 act DETR PA/IPFV IP/DSO that LOC to eye  
 V\_DR/CO V\_PA/IPFV DEM n

*yäqänä* *qyqä* *qe eikuqe.*  
*yäqä =nä q -n =qä qe ä- y -k -qäqu =i*  
 fixedly FCS act DETR DVZR CERT ASS go.up PA/PFV IP/DSO IND  
 ADV N advprt V\_PA/PFV

FT: We went up and arrived inside the bush and went up with eyes fixed towards the place where a house was standing and we had seen it.



## Hunting 11

*Agi*            *änguänä*    *yäqänä*    *mätinätaŋgi*            *ätimäuaqe,*  
*aŋä* =i    *änguä* =nä    *yäqä* =nä    *mät* -n    -ät    -aŋg =i    ä-    *timäu* -aqe  
 house DEF good FCS yet FCS build DETR IPFV DR IND ASS arrive 1P/DSR  
 N            MOD            ADV            V            V\_SR/DEP

*neqä*    *yuquayi*            *iqi*            *pŋqä emäŋi*            *eqä wäŋqä*  
*ne* =qä    *yuquayä* =i    *i* =qi    *pŋqä e* -mä            =ŋi    *eqä wäŋqä*  
 1P POSS cargo DEF that LOC put put SER/SEM GVN water small  
 PRO NP            LOC            vn            V\_SER            n            adj

*iuyau*            *asäkuiyä mätätan*            *ŋŋäŋqä*    *täuqämetuŋqä*  
*i* =uy =a =u    *asäkuiyä mät* -ät -an    *ŋŋä* =ŋqä    *täuqäma* -atu =ŋqä  
 that ? PL OJ blind build SR 1P/CSR bird to watch 1P/IRR to  
 PRO            n            V\_SR/CO            N            V\_INT

*diŋqä*            *hiuŋä qunatuŋqänä*            *hŋqunä*  
*n* =ti =ŋqä    *hiuŋä w- q* -n    -atu =ŋqä =nä    *hn* =qu =nä  
 level there to eye 3 act DETR 1P/IRR GOAL FCS INDEF M FCS  
 LOC            n            V\_INT            PRO

*hŋqunä*            *äuwekuqe.*  
*hn* =qu =nä    ä-    we    -k    -qäqu =i  
 INDEF M FCS ASS disperse PA/PFV 1P/DSO IND  
 PRO            V\_PA/PFV

FT: Then, the house still being good, we arrived, and then put our cargo and then dispersed to look for the little waters to make blinds and watch for birds.

## Hunting 12

*Itaŋga*            *eqä änguänä*    *äyä*    *päuwitqätaygi*  
*i* -ät -aŋg =ŋga    *eqä änguä* =nä    *äyä*    *p*    *wä*    -ätq -ät -aŋg -i  
 do IPFV DR TIME water good FCS just come go.down PRGV IPFV DR 3S/ASO  
 V\_DR/SUB            n            MOD            advprt V\_DR/CO

*äqunage*            *aŋä ämätikuqe.*  
*ä- w- q* -n    -aqe    *aŋä ä- mät* -k    -qäqu =i  
 ASS 3 act DETR 1P/DSR house ASS build PA/PFV 1P/DSO IND  
 V\_SR/DEP            n            V\_PA/PFV

FT: Having seen the water flowing well, we built the blinds.

## Hunting 13

*Aŋä qäpu*    *ämätanitaŋi*            *eqä qe*  
*aŋä qäpu*    ä-    *mät* -ani    =ta =ŋi    *eqä qe*  
 house complete ASS build 1P/DSR ORIG GVN water CERT  
 n            adv            V\_SR/SUB            n            advprt

*äptäqäkuqe.*

*ä- ptäqä* -k    -qäqu =i  
 ASS cover PA/PFV 1P/DSO IND  
 V\_PA/PFV

FT: After we finished building the houses we covered the water.

## Hunting 14

*Qäpu äptäqäyeani yyyäyqä ätäuqämäkuqe.*  
*qäpu ä- ptäqä -ani yyyä =yqä ä- täuqäma -k -qäqu =i*  
 complete ASS cover IP/DSR bird GOAL ASS watch PA/PFV IP/DSO IND  
 adv V\_SR/DEP N V\_PA/PFV

FT: When we finished covering, we watched for birds.

## Hunting 15

*Iygaqi ne yyyä kuapänä qe äpätäukuqe.*  
*i =yga =yi ne yyyä kuapä =nä qe ä- pätäu -k -qäqu =i*  
 that TIME GVN IP bird many FCS CERT ASS shoot PA/PFV IP/DSO IND  
 CNJ pro n MOD advprt V\_PA/PFV

FT: At that time we shot many birds.

## Hunting 16

*I äpmamiyquetäqi hia äyä hiqayga*  
*i ä- pma -miy -qäqu =i =ta =yi hia äyä h- e -q -ayg =yga*  
 that ASS be PA/IPFV IP/DSO DEF SRC GVN night just NEU be PFV DR TIME  
 pro V\_PA/IPFV n advprt V\_DR/SUB

*neqä yuquayä pyqä witaygäqä iqi*  
*ne =qä yuquayä pyqä wä -ät -ayg -qäqä i =qi*  
 IP POSS cargo put go.down IPFV DR 3S/DSO that LOC  
 PRO n vn V\_DR/SUB LOC

*ätimäukuqe.*

*ä- timäu -k -qäqu =i*  
 ASS arrive PA/PFV IP/DSO IND  
 V\_PA/PFV

FT: That being done, close to dusk we arrived where our cargo had been put and was lying.

## Hunting 17

*Iqi ätimäuan äpmenitaqi, yyyä*  
*i =qi ä- timäu -an ä- pma -ani =ta =yi yyyä*  
 that LOC ASS arrive IP/CSR ASS stay IP/DSR SRC LOC bird  
 LOC V\_SR/SIM V\_SR/SUB n

*äpätäukuqe aqüyä äqiyätan päuwäyäuwaqä häuqä*  
*ä- pätäu -k -qäqu =i aqüyä ä- q -ät an päuwäyäuwaqä häuqä*  
 ASS shoot PA/PFV IP/DSO DEF gather ASS act SR IP/CSR betel.sepal cover  
 V\_PA/PFV vn V\_SR/CO n vn

*äutätan aukuqä häkä haqä iqä*  
*ä- uät -ät -an akuäqä häkä haqä i =qi*  
 ASS wrap SR IP/CSR pandanus.nut new.leaves above that LOC  
 V\_SR/CO n loc LOC

*äktäuyekuqe.*

*ä- ktäuye -k -qäqu =i*  
 ASS put PA/PFV IP/DSO IND  
 V\_PA/PFV

FT: After we arrived there and sat a while, we combined the birds we shot, covered them with betel nut sepals and put them in the top of the pandanus nut palms.

## Hunting 18

*Itayga*  
*i* -ät -avg =yga *tä* *hānaqā* *iketan*  
 do IPFV DR TIME fire flame light SR IP/CSR food cook ASS cook SR IP/CSR  
 V\_DR/SUB n n V\_SR/CO n vn V\_SR/CO

*qāpu* *ānaqe,* *pāyā* *āsātan*  
*qāpu* *ā-* *n* -aqe *pāyā* *ā-* *s* -ät -an *hiopā* *itan*  
 complete ASS eat IP/DSR betel ASS chew SR IP/CSR tobacco do SR IP/CSR  
 adv V\_SR/DEP n V\_SR/CO n V\_SR/CO

*kukuyā* *ātqāmanjaqānaqe,* *hiqaqā* *āuwākuque.*  
*kukuyā* *ā-* *t* *qāma* -n -njaqān -aqe *hiqaqā* *ā-* *wā* -k -qāqu =i  
 talk ASS tell be DETR DUR IP/DSR sleep ASS lie PA/PFV IP/DSO IND  
 n V\_SR/DEP n V\_SR/CO vn V\_PA/PFV

FT: Then we lit a fire and cooked food and when we finished eating we chewed betel nut, smoked, and sat talking for ages and then we slept.

## Hunting 19

*Awiya*  
*awā* =i =yga *yāhiqūtā* =yi *iuyatuwānaqe,* *neqā* *yuquanyā* *a*  
 middle DEF TIME morning GVN get up DETR IP/DSR IP POSS bow&arrows hand  
 TEMP N V\_SR/DEP PRO n vn

*āmaqātmāyi* *asākuiyā tāuqāmetuqā*  
*ā-* *ma* *qāt* -mā =yi *asākuiyā tāuqāma* -atu =yqā  
 ASS get hold SER/SEM GVN blind watch IP/IRR to  
 V\_SER n V\_INT

*āuwekuque.*  
*ā-* *we* -k -qāqu =i  
 ASS disperse PA/PFV IP/DSO IND  
 V\_PA/PFV

FT: The next day we got up, picked up our bows and arrows and dispersed to watch for birds from the blinds.

## Hunting 20

*Im* *āpmenjaqānaqe*  
*i* =m *ā-* *pma* -njaqān -aqe *hiunji* *quemisqā* *āyā* *heqayga,*  
 that unseen ASS be DUR IP/DSR midday noon just NEU be PFV DR TIME  
 LOC V\_SR/DEP n n advprt V\_DR/SUB

*yuyā* *āpātāukuque*  
*yuyā* *ā-* *pātāu* -k -qāqu =i *qa* *āmamimā*  
 bird ASS shoot PA/PFV IP/DSO DEF bag ASS get put.in SER/SEM  
 n V\_PA/PFV n V\_SER

*āpeyaqe*  
*ā-* *p* *y* -aqe *ayā* *hiqaqā* *āwāmiquā* *iqi*  
 ASS come go.up IP/DSR house sleep ASS lie PA/PFV IP/DSO that LOC  
 V\_SR/DEP n vn V\_PA/PFV

ätimäuaqe, yŋŋä äpätäukuque huiyitä häuqä qäsä  
 ä- timäu -aqe yŋŋä ä- pätäu -k -qäqu =i huiyi =tä häuqä qäsä  
 ASS arrive IP/DSR bird ASS shoot PA/PFV IP/DSO DEF other with cover with  
 V\_SR/DEP n V\_PA/PFV PRO vn adv

äutätan haqä iqä äktäuyekuque.  
 ä- uät -ät -an haqä i =qi ä- ktäuye -k -qäqu =i  
 ASS wrap SR IP/CSR above that LOC ASS put PA/PFV IP/DSO IND  
 V\_SR/CO loc LOC V\_PA/PFV

FT: We remained in there and when it was high noon we gathered the birds we caught into string bags and we came up to the house where we had slept, the birds we shot we piled up with the others.

## Hunting 21

I qäpu hetayga tä hänaqä iketan  
 i qäpu h- e -ät -ayg =yga tä hänaqä ika -ät -an  
 that complete NEU be IPFV DR TIME fire flame light SR IP/CSR  
 pro adv V\_DR/SUB n n V\_SR/CO

buayä häkiyä äyänagetäŋi qäuqä im päŋä  
 buayä häkiyä ä- yä n -aqe =ta =ŋi qäuqä i =m päŋä  
 food cook ASS cook eat IP/DSR SRC GVN forest that unseen betel  
 n vn V\_SR/SUB n LOC n

qayä änduäkitan yŋŋäyqä tuaqä ikämiŋque.  
 qayä ä- du ikä -ät an yŋŋä =yqä tuaqä ikä -miŋ -qäqu =i  
 pepper ASS harvest tour SR IP/CSR bird GOAL hunt tour PA/IPFV IP/DSO IND  
 n V\_SR/CO N vn V\_PA/IPFV

FT: That being done, we lit a fire and cooked our food, and walked around in the bush collecting betel nut and 'pepper' and watching for birds.

## Hunting 22

Hiunji awiyäqä äyä heqayga ayä hiqäqä  
 hiunji awä =i =qä äyä h- e -q -ayg =yga ayä hiqäqä  
 midday middle DEF COM just NEU be PFV DR TIME house sleep  
 n N advprt V\_DR/SUB n vn

äwämiŋquä iqinyäqä äpekuque.  
 ä- wä -miŋ -qäqu i =qi =yqä ä- p y -k -qäqu =i  
 ASS lie PA/IPFV IP/DSO that LOC to ASS come go.up PA/PFV IP/DSO IND  
 V\_PA/IPFV DEM V\_PA/PFV

FT: When afternoon came, we came up to the house where we had been sleeping.

## Hunting 23

Iqi ätimäuaqe päŋä qayä qa, yuquanyä hionaqä pŋqä  
 i =qi ä- timäu -aqe päŋä qayä qa yiquanyä hionaqä pŋqä  
 that LOC ASS arrive IP/DSR betel pepper bag bow&arrows machete put  
 LOC V\_SR/DEP n n n n n vn

eanitayŋi, tä hänaqä iketan buayä häŋä häkiyä  
 e -ani =ta =ŋi tä hänaqä ika -ät -an buayä häŋä häkiyä  
 put IP/DSR SRC GVN fire flame light SR IP/CSR sweet.potato new cook  
 V\_SR/SUB n n V\_SR/CO n mod vn

äyāḡḡuque.

ä- yā n -k -qāqu =i  
ASS cook eat PA/PFV 1P/DSO IND  
V\_PA/PFV

FT: When we arrived, after we put down our betel nut, pepper, bag, bows and arrows, bush knives, we lit a fire and cooked new sweet potato and ate.

#### Hunting 24

Buayā qāpu ānaqe pāḡā qayā āndukuque  
buayā qāpu ä- n -aqe pāḡā qayā ä- du -k -qāqu =i  
food complete ASS eat 1P/DSR betel pepper ASS harvest PA/PFV 1P/DSO IND  
n adv V\_SR/DEP n n V\_PA/PFV

āsātan hiopā itan quea  
ä- s -āt -an hiopā i -āt -an quea  
ASS chew SR 1P/CSR tobacco do SR 1P/CSR talk  
V\_SR/CO n V\_SR/CO vn

ätqāmanmiḡḡe.

ä- t qāma -miḡ -qāqu =i  
ASS tell be PA/IPFV 1P/DSO IND  
V\_PA/IPFV

FT: After we ate, we got betel and betel-pepper and chewed it and smoked and sat talking.

#### Hunting 25

Queya ätqāmanjaqānaqe awiyāqā äyā  
quea ä- t qāma -n -njaqān -aqe awā =i =qā äyā  
story ASS tell be DETR DUR 1P/DSR middle DEF COM just  
vn V\_SR/DEP N advprt

heqayga neqā yuquanḡā a āmaqātmāḡi  
h- e -q -ayḡ =ḡga ne =qā yiquanḡā a ä- ma qāt -mä =ḡi  
NEU be PFV DR TIME 1P POSS bow.arrows hand ASS get hold SER/SEM GVN  
V\_DR/SUB PRO n vn V\_SER

asākuiyā tāuqāmetuḡḡā äuwekuque.

asākuiyā tāuqāma -atu =ḡqā ä- we -k -qāqu =i  
blind watch 1P/IRR to ASS disperse PA/PFV 1P/DSO IND  
n V\_INT V\_PA/PFV

FT: We sat talking for ages then when afternoon came we got our bows and arrows and dispersed to watch the blinds.

#### Hunting 26

Asākuiyā iu ḡḡḡḡqā ätāuqāmamiḡḡuetaḡi hiatqā  
asākuiyā i =u ḡḡḡḡ =ḡqā ä- tāuqāma -miḡ -qāqu =i =ta =ḡi hiatqā  
blind that LOC bird GOAL ASS watch PA/IPFV 1P/DSO DEF SRC GVN evening  
n LOC N V\_PA/IPFV n

äyā heqayga, āpeyaye ayā hiaqāqā  
äyā h- e -q -ayḡ =ḡga ä- p y -aqe ayā hiaqāqā  
just NEU be PFV DR TIME ASS come go.up 1P/DSR house sleep  
advprt V\_DR/SUB V\_SR/DEP n vn

äwämiŋquä iqi ätimäukuque.  
 ä- wä -miŋ -qäqu i =qi ä- timäü -k -qäqu =i  
 ASS lie PA/IPFV IP/DSO that LOC ASS arrive PA/PFV IP/DSO IND  
 V\_PA/IPFV LOC V\_PA/PFV

FT: After we were watching at the blind for birds, night came, and we came up to the house where we were sleeping.

## Hunting 27

Iqi ätimäuaqe, yŋŋä yäpakä äpätäukuque  
 i =qi ä- timäü -aqe yŋŋä yäpakä ä- pätäü -k -qäqu =i aqüyä  
 that LOC ASS arrive IP/DSR bird last ASS shoot PA/PFV IP/DSO DEF gather  
 LOC V\_SR/DEP n mod V\_PA/PFV vn  
 äqiyaqe huiyitä päuwäyäuwaqä häuqä im häuqä  
 ä- q -aqe huiyi =tä päuwäyäuwaqä häuqä i =m häuqä  
 ASS act IP/DSR other with betel.sepal cover that unseen cover  
 V\_SR/DEP PRO n vn LOC vn

äutekuque.

ä- uät e -k -qäqu =i  
 ASS wrap put PA/PFV IP/DSO IND  
 V\_PA/PFV

FT: When we arrived there, we combined the last birds we shot with the others and covered them with betel nut sepals.

## Hunting 28

I qäpu hetanga tä hänaqä iketan buayä häŋä  
 i qäpu h- e -ät -aŋg =ŋga tä hänaqä ika -ät -an buayä häŋä  
 that complete NEU be IPFV DR TIME fire flame light SR IP/CSR sweet.potato new  
 pro adv V\_DR/SUB n n V\_SR/CO n mod  
 yäpaki ämetan häkiyä äyäqiyätan  
 yäpakä =i ä- ma -ät -an häkiyä ä- yäq -ät -an  
 last DEF ASS get SR IP/CSR cook ASS cook SR IP/CSR  
 N V\_SR/CO vn

äŋguque.

ä- n -k -qäqu =i  
 ASS eat PA/PFV IP/DSO IND  
 V\_PA/PFV

FT: When we finished that, we lit a fire, got the last of our food, cooked it and ate it.

## Hunting 29

Buayä qäpu änaqe, päŋä äsätan hiopä itan  
 buayä qäpu ä- n -aqe päŋä ä- s -ät -an hiopä i -ät -an  
 food complete ASS eat IP/DSR betel ASS chew SR IP/CSR tobacco do SR IP/CSR  
 n adv V\_SR/DEP n V\_SR/CO n V\_SR/CO  
 kukyuä ätqämanjaqänaqe hiaqäqä äwäkuque.  
 kukyuä ä- t qäma -n -njaqän -aqe hiaqäqä ä- wä -k -qäqu =i  
 talk ASS tell be DETR DUR IP/DSR sleep ASS lie PA/PFV IP/DSO IND  
 n V\_SR/DEP vn V\_PA/PFV

FT: When we finished eating, chewing betel nut, smoking and talking for ages, we slept.

## Hunting 30

*Awiŋga* *yähiŋuitäŋi* *buayä häkiyä mäyänqä* *da, qanyinä*  
*awä =i =ŋga yähiŋuitä =ŋi buayä häkiyä ma- yä n -qä da qanyä =nä*  
 middle DEF TIME morning GVN food cook NEG cook eat DVZR indeed freely FCS  
 TEMP N n vn V\_NEG negprt ADV  
*iuyatuwänmäŋi* *neqä aŋämäqä* *qayä ikuque.*  
*iuyatuw -n -mä =ŋi ne =qä aŋä =m =ŋqä qayä i -k -qäqu =i*  
 get up DETR SER/SEM GVN IP POSS village unseen to walk do PA/PFV 1P/DSO IND  
 V\_SER PRO LOC vn V\_PA/PFV

FT: The next morning, we didn't cook food and eat, we just got up and started to walk down to our places.

## Hunting 31

*Itaŋga* *ŋŋä päuwäyäuwaqä häuqä iqueŋi,* *nyi*  
*i -ät -aŋg =ŋga ŋŋä päuwäyäuwaqä häuqä i =qu =e =ŋi nyi*  
 do IPFV DR TIME bird betel.sepal cover that M OJ GVN 1S  
 V\_DR/SUB n n vn PRO pro

*qäyauŋä qe ämaqäyäuukäqe.*  
*qäyauŋä qe ä- ma qäyäu -k -qäqä =i*  
 bundle CERT ASS get carry PA/PFV 1S/DSO IND  
 n advprt V\_PA/PFV

FT: Then bundled up the birds that were wrapped in betel nut sepals and carried them on my shoulders.

## Hunting 32

*Aŋäqi* *timäuqaŋga* *neqä yimeqä apäkitä,* *qoyaŋä*  
*aŋä =qi timäu -aŋg -qäqu =ŋga ne =qä yimeqä apäkä =i =tä qoyaŋä*  
 place LOC arrive DR 1P/DSO TIME IP POSS child woman DEF and old.man  
 LOC V\_DR/SUB PRO n N n

*hiyaqutäŋi* *hiuŋä änaqämbiyi,* *yeqä*  
*hn =i =aqu =tä =ŋi huiŋä ä- na- q -n -piyi yeqä*  
 INDEF F DL and GVN eye ASS IP act DETR 23P/DSR happy  
 PRO n V\_SR/DEP vn

*änäyetmepu* *yatŋqä ti änekuwi,*  
*ä- na- yetma -ät -pu yatŋqä tä =i ä- na- i -k -uwä =i*  
 ASS IP welcome SR 23P/CSR question this DEF ASS IP do PA/PFV 23P/DSO IND  
 V\_SR/CO vn ADV V\_PA/PFV

*"he qayä* *äŋgä ikäka* *äquyepätqäŋä,* *ä*  
*he qayä =i äŋguä ikä -ka ä- quyep -ätq -ŋ -ä ä*  
 2P walk DEF good tour SER/DUR ASS come.down PRGV IPFV 23P/ASO and/or  
 pro vn mod V\_SER V\_PR/PRGV cnjprt

*quyäqätano?"*

*quyqä =ta =nä =o*  
 bad POLQ QT EMPH  
 MOD

FT: When we arrived at our house our wives and children and an old couple saw us and they greeted us, asking this: "Have you walked around well and come, or badly?"

## Hunting 33

*Qu yatqä e neyäqayguwänga,*  
*qu yatqä e na- i -i -q -ayg -uwä =yga ne yeqä*  
 3P question thus IP do BEN PFV DR 23P/DSO TIME IP happy  
 pro vn adv V\_DR/SUB pro vn

*itan kimayä, "ne qayä änguänä ikitan*  
*i -ät -an kima =yi ne qayä änguä =nä ikä -ät -an*  
 do SR IP/CSR answer GVN IP walk good FCS tour SR IP/CSR  
 V\_SR/CO vn pro vn MOD V\_SR/CO

*äquyepqunä"*  
*ä- quyep -q -u =nä ä- t -k -qäqu =i*  
 ASS come.down PFV IP/ASO QT ASS tell PA/PFV IP/DSO IND  
 V\_PR/PFV V\_PA/PFV

FT: When they asked this, we greeted them and replied, "we walked around well and come down."

## Hunting 34

*Itayga ne kima e ätuanitayä,*  
*i -ät -ayg =yga ne kima e ä- w- t -ani =ta =yi nyi*  
 do IPFV DR TIME IP answer thus ASS 3 tell IP/DSR ORIG GVN 1S  
 V\_DR/SUB pro vn adv V\_SR/SUB pro

*apäkiqauyi,*  
*apäkä i =qu =a =u =yi ne yähiyuitä =yi buayä häkiyä mäyängqä*  
 woman that M PL OJ GVN IP morning GVN food cook NEG cook eat DVZR  
 N pro N n vn V\_NEG

*da qanyä iuyatuwänmä*  
*da qanyä iuyatuw -n -mä ä- quyep -q -qäqu =i buayä häyä*  
 indeed freely get up DETR SER/SEM ASS come.down PFV IP/DSO IND sweet.potato new  
 negprt mod V\_SER V\_NP/PFV n mod

*hui äuwitäti*  
*hn =i ä- wä -ät -ä =ti aqyü äqiyäpu hikä*  
 INDEF F ASS lie IPFV 3S/IRR DUBIT gather ASS act SR 23P/CSR stone  
 PRO V\_PR/DUBIT vn V\_SR/CO n

*ikiyiyä,*  
*ik -p =yä ä- w- t -k -qäqä =i*  
 cook 23P/IRR QT ASS 3 tell PA/PFV 1S/DSO IND  
 V\_HORT V\_PA/PFV

FT: After we answered like this, I said this to our wives, "this morning we didn't cook and eat food, we just got up and came down. If there is some fresh sweet potato, collect it and make a mumu."

## Hunting 35

*Nyi e ätuqayga*  
*nyi e ä- w- t -q -ayg =yga qu yämisaqä aqyü äqiyäpu*  
 1S thus ASS 3 tell PFV DR TIME 3P food gather ASS act SR 23P/CSR  
 pro adv V\_DR/SUB pro n vn V\_SR/CO



hikā qe eṇākuwi.  
 hikā qe eṇā -k -uwā =i  
 stone CERT heat PA/PFV 23P/DSO IND  
 n advprt V\_PA/PFV

FT: When we said this they collected food and made a mumu.

## Hunting 36

Iygaṇi hikā ymeqā iqua hamā  
 i =vga =yi hikā ymeqā i =qu =a hamā  
 that TIME GVN lad child that M PL hunger  
 CNJ n n PRO vn

## winyātqātangi

w- i -n -ātq -āt -aṇg -i quāyaṇā iyaquiūā aṇā yāpā  
 3 do DETR PRGV IPFV DR 3S/ASO qoyaṇā i -yaqu =i =uā aṇā yāpā  
 V\_DR/CO n PRO that DL OJ POSS house inside  
 n loc

im hiaqāqā āwāmiṇuwi.  
 i =m hiaqāqā ā- wā -miṇ -uwā =i  
 that unseen sleep ASS lie PA/IPFV 23P/DSO IND  
 LOC vn V\_PA/IPFV

FT: The young boys were sleeping in the two old couple's house, because they were tired with hunger.

## Hunting 37

Qu hiaqāqā witangā,  
 qu hiaqāqā wā -āt -aṇg -ā nyi wāuṇguwā aṇā tāṇā qāqā iqinyāqā  
 3P sleep lie IPFV DR 23P/ASO 1S regrowth place near near that LOC to  
 pro vn V\_DR/CO pro n n loc loc DEM

āquyeqāmi,  
 ā- quyeqe -mi wāṇā ānyuātm  
 ASS go.down 1S/DSR greens ASS harvest SR 1S/CSR  
 V\_SR/DEP n V\_SR/CO

yā miṇiundāqā huiwā hṇqu  
 yā miṇiundāqā huiwā hṇ =qu quya ā- suāu -āt -m āma  
 tree tree.sp skin INDEF M bark ASS skin SR 1S/CSR ASS have  
 n n n PRO n V\_SR/CO V\_SER

āyapkāqe,  
 ā- yap -k -qāqā =i yā wāṇqā hui qāsā ātāuwa.  
 ASS come.up PA/PFV 1S/DSO IND tree small INDEF F with ASS cut -wa  
 V\_PA/PFV n adj PRO adv V\_SER

FT: While they were sleeping, I went down to an overgrown garden near the house and collected greens, picked breadfruit, removed bark of a miṇiundāqā tree, and cut some small trees and brought them up.

## Hunting 38

Nātmatqā āmakāqe  
 nātmatqā ā- ma -k -qāqā =i iqī etm,  
 something ASS get PA/PFV 1S/DSO DEF that LOC be SR 1S/CSR  
 n V\_PA/PFV LOC V\_SR/CO

*apäkiquauyi,*  
*apäkä i =qu =a =u =vi* *Yyqä päuwäyäuwaqä häuqä ämepu*  
 woman that M PL OJ GVN bird betel.sepal cover ASS get SR 23P/CSR  
 N n n vn V\_SR/CO  
*äuyasiqiyäpu* *aiyqä* *tä iqi* *ati ipu*  
 ASS unwrap SR 23P/CSR feather DEF GOAL fire that LOC singe do SR 23P/CSR  
 V\_SR/CO N n LOC vn V\_SR/CO  
*heuyqä täqi* *pyqä epiyä,* *ätukäqe.*  
*heuyqä tä =qi pyqä e -p* *=yä ä- w- t -k -qäqä =i*  
 leaf-plate this LOC put put 23P/IRR QT ASS 3 tell PA/PFV 1S/DSO IND  
 n LOC vn V\_HORT V\_PA/PFV

FT: The things I brought I put there and said to the women "Get the wrapped bundles of birds, unwrap them, singe the feathers off them and put them here on the leaf(s)."

## Hunting 39

*Iyi* *qu yyqä ati iqaygä,* *nyi quya hiuqä quamqä*  
*i =vi qu yyqä ati i -q -ayg -ä* *nyi quya hiuqä qua -m =yqä*  
 that GVN 3P bird singe do PFV DR 23P/ASO 1S bark skewer pierce 1S/IRR GOAL  
 PRO pro n vn V\_DR/CO pro n n V\_INT  
*diyqä* *yä wäyqä iuya* *ätämäkätm* *näwenyä*  
*n =ti =yqä yä wäyqä i =uy =a ä- tämāk -ät -m näwe =nä*  
 level there to tree small that ? PL ASS care.cut SR 1S/CSR prepare FCS  
 PRO n adj PRO V\_SR/CO vn

*imäuqumatkäqe.*

*imäu w- qäma -te -k -qäqä =i*  
 insert 3 be CAUS PA/PFV 3S/DSO IND  
 V\_PA/PFV

FT: Then they singed the birds while/and I sharpened the small pieces of wood in order to skewer the bark bundles.

## Hunting 40

*Eeqäpänä* *qäpu imäkanitayi,* *apäkiqua* *hikä tutuwqä*  
*eeqä =pu =nä qäpu imäk -ani =ta =vi apäkä =i =qu =a hikä tutuwqä*  
 all DIM FCS complete make 1P/DSR SRC GVN woman DEF M PL stone arrange  
 MOD adv V\_SR/SUB N n n  
*ipu,* *yämisaqä pyqä eepu* *heuyqä patqäyäqaygä,*  
*i -ät -pu yämisaqä pyqä = -ät -pu heuyqä pat q -q -ayg -ä*  
 do SR 23P/CSR food put be SR 23P/CSR leaf-plate cover act PFV DR 23P/ASO  
 V\_SR/CO n vn V\_SR/CO n V\_DR/CO  
*nyi waqitä* *yyqitä* *quya iu* *eeqa* *eeqa*  
*nyi waqä =i =tä yyqä =i =tä quya i =u e -qa e -qa*  
 1S greens DEF and bird DEF and bark that LOC be SER/SIM be SER/SIM  
 pro N N n LOC V\_SER V\_SER

*äpekäqe.*

ä- p y -k -qäqä =i  
ASS come go.up PA/PFV 1S/DSO IND  
V\_PA/PFV

FT: When we'd all finished that, the women arranged the stones, placed the food and covered it, while I wrapped and piled the greens and birds.

#### Hunting 41

*Qapu hetayga* *quya yäñänäqyqä äkuäpämi*  
*qäpu h- e -ät -ayg =yga* *quya yäñänäqyqä ä- kuäpä -mi*  
complete NEU be IPFV DR TIME bark strong ASS turn 1S/DSR  
mod V\_DR/SUB n mod V\_SR/DEP

*hiunyqetä* *äueqa* *äpeyätm* *yä*  
*hiunyqä* =i =tä ä- u e -qa ä- p y -ät -m *yä*  
cassowary.bone DEF with ASS shoot put SER/SIM ASS come go.up SR 1S/CSR tree  
N V\_SER V\_SR/CO n

*hiuqä äquaka* *äpekäqe.*  
*hiuqä ä- qua -ka* *ä- p y -k -qäqä =i*  
skewer ASS pierce SER/DUR ASS come go.up PA/PFV 1S/DSO IND  
n V\_SER V\_PA/PFV

FT: That being completed, I rolled the bark tightly, pierced up through them with cassowary bones and put a skewer in each hole.

#### Hunting 42

*Qäpu imäkmi tä iqi häkiyä äyäqämiqge.*  
*qäpu imäk -mi tä i =qi häkiyä ä- yäq -miq -qäqä =i*  
complete make 1S/DSR fire that LOC cook ASS cook PA/IPFV 1S/DSO IND  
adv V\_SR/DEP n LOC vn V\_PA/IPFV

FT: I finished this and I was cooking there.

#### Hunting 43

*Itayga* *buayä hikä pätqä hetayga*  
*i -ät -ayg =yga* *buayä hikä pätqä h- e -ät -ayg =yga*  
do IPFV DR TIME food stone cooked NEU be IPFV DR TIME  
V\_DR/SUB n n adj V\_DR/SUB

*apäkiqua* *ätuwikuwi.*  
*apäkä* =i =qu =a *ä- tiuw -k -uwä =i*  
woman DEF M PL ASS remove PA/PFV 23P/DSO IND  
N V\_PA/PFV

FT: When the food was cooked the women removed the food from the mumu.

#### Hunting 44

*Qu buayä hikä ätuyäpu* *iuqayguwänga,* *nyi*  
*qu buayä hikä ä- tuwi -ät -pu* *iu -q -ayg -uwä =yga nyi*  
3P food stone ASS remove SR 23P/CSR get PFV DR 23P/DSO TIME 1S  
pro n n V\_SR/CO V\_DR/SUB pro

*yŋŋä quya äutetm* *ymeqä apäkä iutän*  
*yŋŋä quya ä- ut -ät -m* *ymeqä apäkä i =u =tä =nä*  
 bird bark ASS peel SR 1S/CSR child woman that LOC with FCS  
 n n V\_SR/CO n n PRO  
*qoyaŋä iyaquisän* *a ätäumi,* *yŋŋä iwäseqäumi*  
*qoyaŋä i =i =aqu =i =tä =nä* *a ä- täu -mi* *yŋŋä iwäseqäu -mi*  
 old.man that F DL OJ with FCS hand ASS cut 1S/DSR bird apportion 1S/DSR  
 n PROP vn V\_SR/DEP n V\_SR/DEP  
*yaŋä äuyqa* *äwkuque.*  
*yaŋä ä- w- i -qa* *ä- w -k -qäqu =i*  
 gift ASS 3 do SER/SIM ASS go PA/PFV 1P/DSO IND  
 vn V\_SER V\_PA/PFV

FT: When they removed the food from the stones and got it, I opened the bird bark and counted the women and the children then divided it and gave it to them.

## Hunting 45

*Neqä ymeqä apäkiquatä* *qoyaŋä iyaqutäŋi*  
*ne =qä ymeqä apäkä =i =qu =a =tä* *qoyaŋä i =i =aqu =tä =ŋi*  
 1P POSS child woman DEF M PL and old.man that F DL and GVN  
 PRO n N n PRO  
*naŋitä yämisatä* *äŋguwi.*  
*naŋuä =i =tä yämisatä =i =tä ä- n -k -uwä =i*  
 meat DEF and food DEF and ASS eat PA/PFV 23P/DSO IND  
 N N V\_PA/PFV

FT: Our children and wives and the 2 old ones ate this meat and food.

## Hunting 46

*Iŋä qe ne ämaqä qokä iqune* *yämisatä huiyinä*  
*i =ŋi qe ne ämaqä qokä i =qu =ne* *yämisatä huiyi =nä*  
 that GVN but 1P person male that M 1P food other FCS  
 CNJ cnjprt pro n n PRO n PRO

*äŋguqe.*

*ä- n -k -qäqu =i*  
 ASS eat PA/PFV 1P/DSO IND  
 V\_PA/PFV

FT: Then we men, we only ate some other food

## Hunting 47

*Tiwiqä hituŋinji.*  
*tiwiqä hituŋä =i =nŋi*  
 story edge DEF IND  
 n N

FT: The story is finished

## C.2 Marriage advice to a son

Simulated conversation between Lot Patiqu and Matthew Kitqäkam recorded and initially transcribed in 1982 by the authors at the request of Carl Whitehead. Subsequently checked and revised by Lot Patiqu and Carl Whitehead.

### Advice 1

*Matiu iquki, nyi täygaŋi, kukyuä kätmqe.*  
*Matiu i =qu =ki nyi tä =yga =yi kukyuä k- t -m =yqä =i*  
 Matthew that M 2S 1S this TIME GVN talk 2S tell 1S/IRR for/about IND  
 prop PRO pro TEMP n V\_INT

FT: Matthew, I'm now going to speak to you.

### Advice 2

*Si täygaŋi, Matiuki, apäkä äyä ämenä.*  
*si tä =yga =yi Matiuk =ki apäkä äyä ä- ma -q -n*  
 2S this TIME GVN Matthew 2S wife just ASS get PFV 2S/ASO  
 pro TEMP NP n advprt V\_PR/PFV

FT: You are now getting married, Matthew.

### Advice 3

*Apäkä ämeŋi, si hikyāŋga, ikitqäŋä ma,*  
*apäkä ä- ma -q -yā =i si hikyā =yga ikä -ätq -y -yā ma*  
 wife ASS get PFV 2S/DSO IND 2S lad TIME tour PRGV IPFV 2S/DSO like  
 n V\_NP/PFV pro TEMP V\_NP/PRGV cnjprt  
*e mikiqä da isyqe.*  
*e ma- ikä -qä da i -t =yqä =i*  
 thus NEG tour DVZR indeed do 2S/IRR to IND  
 adv NEG negprt V\_INT

FT: (When) you have taken a wife, you definitely should not go around as you used to when a (single) young man.

### Advice 4

*Täygaŋi, si apäkä ämeŋi, wäuyäŋqä kyyuä*  
*tä =yga =yi si apäkä ä- ma -q -yā =i wäuyä =yqä kyyuä*  
 this TIME GVN 2S wife ASS get PFV 2S/DSO IND work for/about thought  
 TEMP pro n V\_NP/PFV N n  
*indäqāndyqe. täkyäŋqä, aŋäŋqä, buayä wäuyäŋqä,*  
*indäqān -t =yqä =i täkyä =yqä aŋä =yqä buayä wäuyä =yqä*  
 think 2S/IRR to IND fence for/about house for/about sweet.potato work for/about  
 V\_INT NP LOC n N  
*itaygaŋi, si wäuyä e iqaygäti.*  
*i -ät -ayg =yga =yi si wäuyä e i -q -ayg -t =ti*  
 that IPFV DR TIME GVN 2S work thus do PFV DR 2S/IRR DUBIT  
 CNJ pro n adv V\_DR/DUBIT

FT: Now that you have a wife, you are going to think about work -- about fences, housing, gardening, and that you'll do that work.

## Advice 5

Itaygayi,

i -ät -avg =vga =vi si apäkiki, Matiu iqu wäuyä  
 that IPFV DR TIME GVN 2S woman DEF 2S Matiu i =qu wäuyä  
 CNJ pro N prop PRO n

iqäqe,

i -q -qäqä =i si apäkiki päkäpäkä mäpmeqä  
 do PFV 3S/DSO DEF 2S woman DEF 2S päkäpäkä ma- pma -qä  
 V\_NP/PFV pro N rest NEG be DVZR  
 vn NEG

isyqe.

i -t =vqä =i  
 do 2S/IRR to IND  
 V\_INT

FT: And you, woman, (when) Matthew is working, you, woman, are not to sit around at rest.

## Advice 6

Si, iqueuä

si i =qu =e =uä kukyuä duqi, qänaknä itnä,  
 2S that M OJ POSS talk level LOC GVN follow FCS do SR 2S/CSR  
 pro PRO n LOC vn V\_SR/CO

wäuyä isyqe.

wäuyä i -t =vqä =i  
 work do 2S/IRR to IND  
 n V\_INT

FT: You are to work, following his talk.

## Advice 7

Wäuyä itnä,

quamä äpmatyqe.  
 wäuyä i -ät -n quamä ä- pma -t -vqä =i  
 work do SR 2S/CSR seated ASS be 2S/IRR to IND  
 n V\_SR/CO vn V\_INT

FT: You are to work and be settled.

## Advice 8

Itayga,

Matiuki, si, hikyänga ikitqäyi.  
 i -ät -avg =vga Matiu =ki si hikyä =vga ikä -ätq -v -vqä =i  
 do IPFV DR TIME Matthew 2S 2S lad TIME tour PRGV IPFV 2S/DSO IND  
 V\_DR/SUB NP pro TEMP V\_NP/PRGV

FT: And Matthew, when you were young (and single) you used to wander.

## Advice 9

Qayä hikyänga

ikitqäyi, täygaqi, si quamä  
 qayä hikyä =vga ikä -ätq -v -vqä =i tä =vga =vi si quamä  
 walk lad TIME tour PRGV IPFV 2S/DSO IND this TIME GVN 2S seated  
 vn TEMP V\_NP/PRGV pro vn

*pmaṭṭqe.*

*pma* -t =ṭqä =i  
be 2S/IRR for/about IND  
V\_INT

FT: You used to wander when you were young, now you are going to settle down.

#### Advice 10

*Quamä äpmetnä,* *wäuyä, ayä, täkyä, imäktqänä.*  
*quamä* ä- *pma* -ät -n *wäuyä* *ayä* *täkyä* *imäk* -t =ṭqä =nä  
seated ASS be SR 2S/CSR work house fence make 2S/IRR for/about FCS  
vn V\_SR/CO n n n V\_INT

FT: You are going to be settled, doing garden, house(-building) and fence work.

#### Advice 11

*Itaygayi,* *si, apäkiki, Matiu iqueqä*  
*i* -ät -ayg =ṭga =ṭi *si* *apäkä* =i =ki *Matiu* *i* =qu =e =qä  
that IPFV DR TIME GVN 2S woman DEF 2S Matthew that M OJ POSS  
CNJ pro N prop PRO  
*käyāmaqe,* *qeyaqä, ayäqi ätimäquwi,* *si apäkiki,*  
*kä-* *yāmaq* =i *qe* =yāqä *ayä* =qi ä- *timä* -q -uwä =i *si* *apäkä* =i =ki  
3 associate DEF 2D POSS place LOC ASS arrive PFV 23P/DSO DEF 2S woman DEF 2S  
KIN PRO LOC V\_NP/PFV pro N  
*hiyguinä* *äqunänä* *mäpmeqä* *isyqe.*  
*hiuyä* =i =nä ä- w- q -n -n *ma-* *pma* -qä *i* -t =ṭqä =i  
eye DEF FCS ASS 3 act DETR 2S/CSR NEG be DVZR do 2S/IRR to IND  
vn V\_SR/SIM NEG V\_INT

FT: So you, woman, when Matthew's relatives come to your home, you woman are not going to just sit looking.

#### Advice 12

*Buayä ämetnä,* *äwisṭqe.*  
*buayä* ä- *ma* -ät -n *ä-* w- *i* -t =ṭqä =i  
food ASS get SR 2S/CSR ASS 3 do 2S/IRR to IND  
n V\_SR/CO V\_INT

FT: You are going to get food and give (it) to them.

#### Advice 13

*Matiu iqu,* *hikṭāyṭgayi,* *iqueqä* *käyāmaqe,* *mäwimeqä*  
*Matiu* *i* =qu *hikṭä* =ṭga =ṭi *i* =qu =e =qä *kä-* *yāmaq* =i *ma-* w- *ima* -qä  
Matthew that M lad TIME GVN that M OJ POSS 3 associate DEF NEG 3 meet DVZR  
prop PRO TEMP PRO KIN V\_NEG  
*da* *ipnä,* *iqueqä* *käyāmaqe,* *ique* *hiuyä*  
*da* *i* -p -ni *i* =qu =e =qä *kä-* *yāmaq* =i *i* =qu =e *hiuyä*  
indeed do 23P/IRR FUT that M OJ POSS 3 associate DEF that M OJ eye  
negprt V\_ABIL PRO KIN PRO n

*äquguwi, iqu apäkä meqaygi.*  
 ä- w- q -n -q -uwä =i i =qu apäkä ma -q -ayg -i  
 ASS 3 act DETR PFV 23P/DSO IND that M wife get PFV DR 3S/ASO  
 V\_NP/PFV PRO n V\_DR/CO

FT: When Matthew was a youth his relatives were unable to visit him (but) his relatives have seen that he's taken a wife.

## Advice 14

*Iqua Matiu iqueqä ayä iqi timäupyyqe.*  
 i =q = Matiu i =q = =qä ayä i =qi timä -p =yqä =i  
 u a u e  
 tha M PL Matthe tha M OJ POS hous tha LO arrive 23P/IR for/about IN  
 t w t S e t C R t D  
 PRO prop PRO n LOC V\_INT

FT: They are going to visit Matthew's house.

## Advice 15

*Ätimäquwi, si yeqä äyguänäyä äuyätinä,*  
 ä- timä -q -uwä =i si yeqä äyguä -näyä ä- w- i -ät -n  
 ASS arrive PFV 23P/DSO DEF 2S happy good very ASS 3 do SR 2S/CSR  
 V\_NP/PFV pro vn MOD V\_SR/CO

*iquatänä, anä e pmapyqä.*  
 i =qu =a =tä =nä anä e pma -p =yqä  
 do M PL with FCS with thus be 23P/IRR for/about  
 PRO advprt adv V\_INT

FT: (When) they visit, you are going to welcome them very well and be together thus with them.

## Advice 16

*Itaygaqi, qe ymeqä täyä esinä, iygaqi*  
 i -ät -ayg =yga =yi qe ymeqä täyä e -ät -in i =yga =yi  
 that IPFV DR TIME GVN 2D child near be SR 23D/CSR that TIME GVN  
 CNJ pro n locative V\_SR/CO CNJ

*qe qeqä ymeqeu ämotuqayyqänä.*  
 qe qe =qä ymeqä =i =u ä- w- mä ^ tuqa -iny =yqä =nä  
 2D 2D POSS child DEF LOC ASS 3 show 23D/IRR for/about FCS  
 pro PRO NP V\_INT

FT: So you two are going to have children and then you are going to teach your children.

## Advice 17

*Ämotuqesinä, hia ique ique e*  
 ä- w- mä ^ tuqa -ät -in hia i =qu =e i =qu =e e  
 ASS 3 show SR 23D/CSR days that M OJ that M OJ thus  
 V\_SR/CO n PRO PRO adv

*motuqeqiyqänä.*

w- mä ^ tuqa -q -iny =yqä =nä  
 3 show PFV 23D/IRR for/about FCS  
 V\_INT



FT: Teaching, you are to go on teaching them every day.

## Advice 18

E ämotuqesinä, iqinyiyäñqänä.  
 e ä- w- mä tuqa -ät -in i -q -iny -ni -iyä =ñqä =nä  
 thus ASS 3 show SR 23D/CSR do PFV 23D/IRR FUT 23D/DSO for/about FCS  
 adv V\_SR/CO V\_FUT/INT

FT: You two will go on teaching thus.

## Advice 19

E imisiyäge, qeqä ymeqe, kănakitănă  
 e i -mit -y -äqä qe =qä ymeqä =i kă- na =ki =tä =nä  
 thus do SR/DUR 23D/IRR SR/GEN 2D POSS child DEF 3 mother 2S and FCS  
 adv V\_SR/GEN PRO NP KIN

kaniqukutănă suqä e  
 kă- an =i =qu =ku =tä =nä suqä e  
 3 father DEF M 2S/M and FCS custom thus  
 KIN n adv

ämotuqamisiyäge, ymeqäqua, qeyaqä suqä  
 ä- w- mätuqa -mit -iny -äqä =i ymeqä =qu =a qe =yaqä suqä  
 ASS 3 show SR/DUR 23D/IRR SR/GEN DEF child M PL 2D POSS custom  
 V\_SR/GEN NP PRO n

du qănaknă iqăpnuwäñqä.  
 n =tu qănaki =nä i -q -p -ni -uwä =ñqä  
 level LOC follow FCS do PFV 23P/IRR FUT 23P/DSO to  
 LOC vn V\_FUT/INT

FT: Whenever you do this, (by) you their mother and father teaching them (to) behave thus, the children will go on following your customs.

## Advice 20

Itapi iqua, iquauqä ymeqä du,  
 i =ta =ñi i =qu =a i =qu =a =u =qä ymeqä n =tu  
 that SRC LOC that M PL that M PL OJ POSS child level LOC  
 CNJ PRO PRO n LOC

motuqapnuwäñqä.  
 mä tuqa -p -ni -uwä =ñqä  
 show 23P/IRR FUT 23P/DSO for/about  
 V\_FUT/INT

FT: From there, they will teach their children.

## Advice 21

E nyi kukquä qe äqesäqä.  
 e nyi kukquä qe ä- qe- t -q -ä  
 thus 1S talk CERT ASS 2D tell PFV 1S/ASO  
 adv pro n advpt V\_PR/PFV

FT: I have thus spoken to you two.

## Advice 22

*Nyi kukḡuä tä äqesäqe,*  
*nyi kukḡuä tä ä- qe- t -q -qäqä =i qe qätä*  
 1S talk this ASS 2D tell PFV 3S/DSO DEF 2D ear  
 pro n pro V\_NP/PFV pro n

*änyiyäsinyä,*  
*ä- n- i -i -ät -in quamä äḡguänäḡä pmayḡqe.*  
 ASS 1S do BEN SR 23D/CSR seated good very be 23D/IRR for/about IND  
 V\_SR/CO vn MOD V\_INT

FT: This that I've spoken to you, you are to listen to me and settle very well.

## Advice 23

*Quamä äpmesinä,*  
*quamä ä- pma -ät -in suqä nyi äqesäqä täuḡi,*  
 seated ASS be SR 23D/CSR custom 1S ASS 2D tell PFV 1S/DSO this LOC GVN  
 vn V\_SR/CO n pro V\_NP/PFV LOC

*qe qänaknä iqa wiḡḡqänä.*  
*qe qänaki =nä i -qa w- i -iny =ḡqä =nä*  
 2D follow FCS do SER/SIM 3 do 23D/IRR for/about FCS  
 pro vn V\_SER V\_INT

FT: You two will be settled and go on following this behaviour I have told you.

## Advice 24

*Äwäsinyä,*  
*ä- w -ät -in suqä äḡguänäḡä du pmayḡqänä.*  
 ASS go SR 23D/CSR custom good very level LOC be 23D/IRR for/about FCS  
 V\_SR/CO n MOD LOC V\_INT

FT: You two will go and be settled in a good custom.

## Advice 25

*Nyi qeqä qeniqunä.*  
*nyi qe =qä qe an =i =qu =nä*  
 1S 2D POSS 2D father DEF M FCS  
 pro PRO KIN

FT: I am your father.

## Advice 26

*Nyi qe äqesäqä.*  
*nyi qe ä- qe- t -q -ä*  
 1S CERT ASS 2D tell PFV 1S/ASO  
 pro advprt V\_PR/PFV

FT: I have spoken to you.

## Advice 27

*E qäpiyi.*  
*e qäpu =i*  
 thus complete IND  
 adv ADV

FT: That's the end.

## Advice 28

*Nyi hmbu tmqe.*  
*nyi hn =pu t -m =yqä =i*  
 1S INDEF DIM tell 1S/IRR to IND  
 pro PRO V\_INT

FT: I'm going to say a little.

## Advice 29

*Täygaŋi, si apiquki apiquki si kukyuä*  
*tä =yga =yi si ap =i =qu =ki ap =i =qu =ki si kukyuä*  
 this TIME GVN 2S 1's father DEF M 2S 1's father DEF M 2S 2S talk  
 TEMP pro KIN KIN pro n

*äyatŋi, ye qätä äkiyäta quamä*  
*ä- ya- t -yä =i ye qätä ä- k- i -i -ät -a quamä*  
 ASS 1D tell 2S/DSO DEF 1D ear ASS 2S do BEN SR 1D/CSR seated  
 V\_SR/DEP pro n V\_SR/CO vn

*äpmeque.*

*ä- pma -q -ue*  
 ASS be PFV 1D/ASO  
 V\_PR/PFV

FT: Now, you father having spoken to us, we have heard and are settled.

## Advice 30

*I qäpi.*  
*i qäpu =i*  
 that complete IND  
 pro adv

FT: That's the end.

## GLOSSARY AND INDEX

Term	Definition	Index
actor	the entity seen as performing the situation predicated; cross-referenced by the verb suffix; normally assigned the subject function by the verb.	2.3.2, 2.3.3, 4.1.2,
affectee	an entity, other than the actor, that is affected by the predication; cross-referenced by the verb prefix when human; normally the primary object but assigned the subject function by 'impersonal experience' verbs.	2.3.2, 2.3.3, 4.1.2, 4.2.1.2
associative	the high degree of relevance, denoted by one of the two realis actor-suffix sets, that exists between a final clause and the speech act situation or between a coordinate DR medial and the clause to which it is joined.	4.2.2.1, 4.2.2.6, 4.2.3.4, 4.2.4.1.2
aspect	the verbal category that denotes the temporal nature of an situation – the length of its duration and the existence of change in the situation (or lack thereof) during the course of time.	4.2.2.3, 4.2.3.6, 4.2.2.4, 4.2.4.1, 4.2.4.3.5
case frame	the number and type of arguments (nominals) of a verb that need to be identified for its meaning to be fully understood	2.3.2, 4.1.2, 4.2.1.3
clause topic	what the speaker had in mind to talk about at the start of a clause; usually same as actor and subject but can differ	2.3.2, 3.1.2, 4.1.2
clitic	a morpheme that bears no stress but is attached to the end of a phrase or other higher level of structure.	2, 2.2, 2.3.3, 3.1.2, 3.4
coordinate	A linguistic unit is coordinate with another if it is assigned equal status with another one or more units, forming a complex larger unit.	2.4, 3.5, 4.2.4, 5.5.2
dependent	A unit that is unable to stand alone as a complete utterance since it is not fully specified but needs to get some category of information from some other unit.	2.4, 4.2.4, 5
destination	the endpoint of a motion verb, generally marked by a locative clitic followed by the goal clitic, = <i>ŋqə</i> .	3.4.3.1, 4.1.2
dissociative	the lower degree of relevance between two propositions, denoted by one of the two realis actor-suffix sets, that exists between a final clause and the speech act situation or between a subordinate DR medial and its matrix clause.	4.2.2.2, 4.2.3.5, 4.2.4.1.1
final verb	The verb forms inflected for tense that occur primarily in the last clause of a sentence and, therefore, also bear a mood clitic when appropriate. They are also used in most instances of relative and complement clauses.	5.4.2
frame	the introductory 'given' portion of a sentence which serves as a frame of reference for the remaining 'asserted' portion of the sentence	2.2, 5.5.1.2, 5.4.1, 5.4.2.3
generic verb	A verb that has very little semantic content in its own right but combines with various nominals to provide a range of specific meanings.	2.1, 0, 4.3.4.1
goal	any entity towards which an event is directed, whether physically (as in a motion verb) or mentally (as in the purpose for or target of an action)	3.4.3, 4.1.2, 4.2.3, 5.4.1
imperfective	aspect indicating the speaker's choice to present the event with a focus on its internal temporal complexity (cf. perfective)	2.3.5, 4.2.2.3, 4.2.4.1
irrealis	the mode (modality), indicating a lack of certainty about the factuality of the proposition; all Menya propositions about future events and many generalizations about normal behaviour are encoded as irrealis	2.3.5, 4.2.1.1, 4.2.3, 4.2.4.2, 4.2.4.4
medial verb	The verb forms that participate in the switch-reference system and occur primarily in clauses other than at the end of the sentence.	5.4.2

modality	the verbal category that denotes the degrees of uncertainty about a proposition and the nature of pressures to bring about or prevent a proposition.	2.3.5, 4.2.3, 4.2.4.2, 4.2.4.4
mood	the illocutionary force of a speech act denoted by a particular morpheme or syntactic device, such as auxiliary inversion in English.	2.2, 5.5.2
object	the grammatical function assigned to an entity (other than the actor) who is affected by the predicated event; case-marked when coded with a demonstrative.	2.3.2, 2.3.3, 3.1.2, 4.1.2,
particle	a morpheme that is not normally stressed and does not bear affixation; it is perceived as isolable and often exhibits some order flexibility whereas a clitic is attached to the end of a phrase or a higher level of structure	2.1, 4.3.1, 5.4.2.4
patient	the entity that is most directly acted upon or affected by a transitive verb	2.3.2
perfective	aspect indicating the speaker's choice to present the event as a whole without regard for any internal temporal complexity	2.3.5, 4.2.2.3, 4.2.4.1
personalizing clitic	an enclitic occurring on nominal expressions to denote person (speaker, hearer or other) and number of the referent of the nominal	3.1.2, 3.2.3, 3.3.3.3
presupposition	those pieces of information which the speaker 'presupposes' the hearer knows but states as the frame or context in which the new information to come applies	4.2.1.1, 5.4
progressive	sub-category of imperfective aspect referring to events that either develop or are repeated through time (cf. stative)	2.3.5, 4.2.2.4, 4.2.4.1
realis	the (unmarked) modality used for predication of certainty (cf. irrealis)	2.3.5, 4.2.1.1, 4.2.2, 4.2.4.3
recipient	the entity (usually animate) the receives a patient in an act of transfer; in the broadest sense, this includes addressees and beneficiaries.	2.3.2
serial verb	a verb with little or no affixation used to express propositions in a close-knit unit, sharing at least one nuclear argument	2.4.15.3
stative	sub-category of imperfective aspect referring to states that continue without change through time (cf. progressive)	2.3.5, 4.2.2.4, 4.2.4.1
subject	the grammatical function assigned to the entity about which the predication is made; encoded without case-marking; the actor for most verbs and the prime candidate for clause topic	2.3.2, 2.3.3, 3.1.24.1.2
subordinate	that is embedded either as an argument of or within an argument of the main clause	2.4, 4.2.4, 5, 5.4
switch-reference	the marking of one clause to indicate whether the tracked referent is the same or different in the subsequent text	2.4, 4.2.4, 5.1.2
tail-head linkage	The repetition at the beginning of a sentence of the last clausal unit from the previous sentence, whether simple or complex.	5.1, 5.4, 5.4.2.3
tense	the morphological expression on a verb indicating the temporal location of the marked event, relative to the speech act or some other significant event.	2.3.5, 4.2.2.2, 4.2.4.1
topic	the referent of situation that the speaker has in mind to talk about; an entity can retain its topical status at a higher level of structure even while another entity has topical status at a lower level	2.3.2, 5.1.2
verbal noun	a class of words that appear as adjuncts to common generic verbs to produce a specific verbal concept. By analogy, they are considered nouns (nominal adjuncts) even though they do not have other nominal functions.	2.1, 4.3.4.1
verbal phrase	a phrase composed of the verb and various other words that modify it, including adverbs but excluding nominal arguments	4.3

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